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HISTORY

OF THE

WAR OF THE UNITED STATES

WITH

GREAT BRITAIN IN 1812,

AND OF THE

WAR WITH MEXICO.

BY

JOHN LEWIS THOMSON.

With Additions and Corrections.

ILLUSTRATED WITH NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS, FROM DESIGNS BY W. CROOME AND OTHER ARTISTS.

PHILADELPHIA:
J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY.
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HISTORY
OF THE
LATE WAR
WITH
GREAT BRITAIN.





CHAPTER I.

Commencement of the War.

About the close of the year 1811 the Indian affairs on the southern and north-western frontiers of the United States assumed an aspect of a much more alarming nature than that which had been marked by any of the previous depredations of the neighbouring tribes. Incessant incursions were followed by the extinction of whole families, and the several nations seemed emulous of excelling each other in acts of the greatest horror. An unextinguishable hostility was manifested by the most powerful chiefs and warriors, whose enmity towards the frontier inhabitants was excited, and kept alive by an industrious circulation of

inflammatory addresses, and alluring gifts. The conduct of the British traders was far from being consistent with the pacific disposition which their government had been professing; and the facility with which the Indians became possessed of every description of offensive weapons, known to be beyond their means, either to manufacture or to purchase, led to suspicions of their having been supplied by its appointed agents. The result of investigations which were made by the governors of Ohio, and of the Michigan and Illinois territories, gave strong confirmation to these suspicions, and it was ascertained that great quantities of missiles, arms, and ammunition, had been delivered to the different nations, contiguous to the British posts.

The influence of a Shawanese, who styled himself "the Prophet," and who neglected no means to excite the most violent animosities against the people of the United States, had produced among the Indians on the borders of the Wabash, a disposition to massacre and plunder, to so enormous an extent, that the vigorous interference of the government was no longer to be delayed. Measures were therefore immediately adopted, in conjunction with Governor William H. Harrison, to repel by force, any further outrages which could not be prevented by amicable treaty. The militia of Indiana, and a regiment of United States infantry, commanded by Colonel John P. Boyd, were accordingly ordered to march, under Governor Harrison, to the Prophet's-town, to demand restoration of the plunder which the Indians had committed, and to reduce them to terms, which would secure the future peace of that territory. In the month of November, 1811, this body of troops were within four miles of the Prophet's town (having already marched thirty-four days) before the Indians had any expectation of seeing them; when one of the chiefs came out, and proposed that Governor Harrison should encamp near them until morning, at which time the Prophet would willingly enter into a treaty of peace. This proposal was agreed to, and the army were encamped in line of battle, with orders to keep on their accoutrements, and to lie upon their arms, so that they might be ready for action without one moment's delay. At four o'clock on the morning of the seventh, the camp was attained with great fury by the savages at one point, where the bayonet, however, soon



Battle of Tippecanoe

dispersed them, and where three Indians were found within the line of sentinels seeking the commander. The morning was excessively dark, and the men could only be distinguished by the watchword, or the flashes of the musketry. By the aid of this momentary light, the Indians were seen crowding into the camp; but they were entirely routed by several vigorous and intrepid charges. The conduct of Colonel Boyd and the 4th regiment, after the action had become more general, intimidated and put the Indians to flight; at the dawn of day they were closely pursued, and numbers of them killed. The cavalry were now first brought into action, but the savages fled from them in great confusion, abandoned their town, into which they had been driven, and escaped across the river. Fifty-three Indians were lying dead about the encampment, and their loss, in killed and wounded, was estimated at one hundred and fifty. Of the 4th regiment, seventy-seven were killed and wounded. The loss of the whole force amounted, from the most accurate account, to one hundred and eighty-seven. Most of the militia under Governor Harrison, behaved with great courage and bravery; but to Colonel Boyd, whose experience in the Mahrattah (India) service, well qualified him for a combat with the Prophet's warriors, is much of the

success of this battle to be attributed. Tranquillity being now restored to the territory of Indiana, the troops returned to Fort Harrison—distance one hundred miles—and the militia to their homes. Many months had not elapsed, however, before the Prophet, in connexion with Tecumseh, a chief of great valour, and of equal ambition, threatened a renewal of hostilities, not only against the inhabitants of Indiana, but of the adjacent territories.*

To guard against future encroachments from the savages, and to protect such of the inhabitants as had yet escaped their fury, it was necessary that the peace establishment should be augmented, and new regiments raised, of a nature to cope with the Indian warfare. Indications of hostility to the interests of the United States were about this time evinced in the conduct, as well of the British ministry, as of their public ships of war on the American coast, in neutral ports, and on the ocean.

In the event of a more decided character being given to this state of relations between the United States, Great Britain, and the Indians, the necessity of a larger army would become still more urgent. In providing against these threatening evils, the second session of the twelfth Congress had been protracted to an unusual length, and on finding remonstrances to be unavailing, the president, on the first of June, 1812, laid before the two houses a detail of the various enormities committed against this nation by the British government and the officers representing it. Their immediate attention was required to this subject, as it was thought necessary, by the greatest proportion of the people, that such encroaching injuries should at last be resisted by the most effectual means. Documents being in possession of the executive which placed the insulting practices of the British, against the commerce and national honour of the United States, beyond all doubt, the communication set forth, "that the cruisers of that nation had been in the continued practice of violating the Ameri-

* Although the affair on the Wabash, which has been distinguished by the name of "The Battle of Tippecanoe," was previous to the declaration of war, it is indispensable to the introduction to its history that it should be at least briefly referred to—the limits of this work do not admit of as full a description of a victory which has reflected so much lustre on the American character, as the author is desirous to give, or the reader perhaps to receive.

can flag on the great highway of nations, and of seizing and carrying off persons sailing under it; not in the exercise of a belligerent right, founded on the law of nations—against an enemy, but of a municipal prerogative over British subjects;

"That they had been in the practice also of violating the peace and the rights of our coasts by hovering over and harassing our entering and departing commerce; and that to the most insulting pretensions they had added the most lawless proceedings in our very harbours, and wantonly spilt American blood within the sanctuary of our territorial jurisdiction;

"That they were aiming to sacrifice our commercial interests, and were laying waste our neutral trade, not because we supplied their enemy, but by carrying on a war against our friendly commerce that they might themselves pursue an intercourse with their enemy;

"That they were plundering our vessels on the high seas under pretended blockades, without the necessary presence of an adequate force to maintain them, and that to these transcendent acts of injustice the cabinet of Great Britain added at length the *sweeping system of blockade* under the name of orders in council, which had been moulded to suit its political views, its commercial jealousies, or the avidity of British cruisers;

"That, at the very moment when their public minister was holding the language of friendship and inspiring confidence in the sincerity of the negotiations with which he was charged, a secret agent of his government was employed in intrigues, having for their object a subversion of our government and a dismemberment of our Union;

"That the warfare which was just renewed by the savages on our frontiers, which spared neither age nor sex, and was distinguished by features peculiarly shocking to humanity, could not be referred to without connecting their hostility with the influence of British traders and garrisons, nor without recollecting the authenticated examples of the interpositions of the officers and agents of that government. And,

"That in fine, on the side of Great Britain, there was a state of war against the United States; and on the side of the United States a state of peace towards Great Britain."

The committee of foreign relations, to whom this message was referred, reported a manifesto to the House, in which, after recapitulating these grievances, they recommended, as the only measure to prevent future aggression, an immediate appeal to arms; and on the 18th of June, an act was passed declaring war against the kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the dependencies thereof; which received the executive sanction.

A small army, consisting of the 4th regiment of infantry, and three regiments of Ohio volunteers, was ordered, under the command of Brigadier-General Hull, to protect the frontiers against the incursions of the savages. After the declaration of war, this force being nearest to the most convenient point of invasion, was directed to repair to the town of Detroit, on the river of that name, and opposite Sandwich, a beautiful and extensive village in Upper Canada.

On the 5th of July, after a tedious and fatiguing march of thirty-five days, during which he was obliged to fortify his camp, at every position which he occupied at night, to prevent a surprise from a party of Indians, who, aided by the British, had closely and constantly reconnoitered him, and who had planned an attack upon Detroit, which the approach of his army frustrated, he arrived at that post with two thousand five hundred men. He had no sooner garrisoned the American shore of the Detroit, than the British began to throw up breastworks and to erect batteries on the opposite side. The first of these was destroyed by a well-directed fire from the fort, and the persons employed at it were obliged precipitately to retire; a second, which was situated about three miles below, was destroyed in like manner, by a few pieces of cannon despatched for that purpose, and worked with so much skill that the enemy was compelled to abandon his design of fortifying at that point.

Active preparations were now making for an immediate invasion of Canada; boats were constructed capable of containing a regiment, and the passage of the whole army was to be effected at the same instant—the width of the river being favourable to the crossing of the troops, either above or below the point selected to oppose their landing, the enemy was allowed, on his third attempt, to erect, without annoyance, a battery of seven small

cannon and two mortars. Every preparation having been completed, the embarkation took place on the 12th. The army landed on the Canadian shore, above the fort, and entered Sandwich without opposition. Those of the inhabitants who had not been compelled to repair to the defence of Malden, were without arms, and therefore made no show of resistance to the Americans, by whom they were honourably respected in their property and persons. Possession was had, in a few days, of the whole country from the river Thames, or *la Tranche*, so called from the evenness and beauty of its bank, to a rivulet within five miles of Malden, whither the British regulars and Canadian militia, with several hundred Indians, had retired.

Prior to the occupation of Sandwich, however, the enemy had removed his most valuable stores, and whilst he was throwing up breastworks, and apparently fortifying that place for defence, the largest division of his troops was employed in transporting them to Amherstburg.

If General Hull's instructions admitted of his striking a blow immediately on his arrival at Detroit, a favourable opportunity was culpably neglected. But, on hearing a proposition from his officers to cross the river below, to cut off the communication between the two divisions at Sandwich and Amherstburg, and suddenly to rush upon and carry Fort Malden by storm, he alleged the necessity of waiting for positive orders for the invasion of Canada before he could embark his troops for that purpose. Whilst the force at Malden was weakened by the employment of the men at Sandwich, this project might have been carried into effect, and his army, besides prisoners, would have obtained a large accession of stores and ammunition. When he arrived at Sandwich, the British army, with these and other stores, and an augmented Indian force, had collected at, and were placing Malden in a state to sustain a siege. To attempt the reduction of that garrison by storm, after the enemy had effected this concentration of his forces, it was necessary to proceed against it with a train of battering cannon, and ladders of a sufficient height and number to scale the walls at various points. The American army had neither of these at that time in readiness, and its operations were delayed for one month in preparing two twenty-four pounders

and three howitzers. In this interval such advantages were gained as result from subsisting on the resources of the enemy's country, and the capture of some camp articles, and a small supply of arms, by reconnoitering parties.

Meanwhile, the British and Indians at St. Josephs, had been making preparations for an attack on Fort Michilimackinac,* (a position on an island of that name and in General Hull's command,) and on the 16th, four days after the occupation of Sandwich by the troops of the United States, the British embarked at St. Josephs, and reached the island early on the following morning. Their force, consisting of three hundred and six white troops, and seven hundred and fifteen Indians, was commanded by Captain Roberts, of the British regulars, who sent in a prisoner to inform the commandant that if any resistance was made the garrison and inhabitants would be indiscriminately put to the sword. The inhabitants knowing that the fort had but fifty-seven men for its defence, escaped from the island, or fled for refuge to the enemy, in great numbers; but many of them had no opportunity to do either, and were obliged to remain and abide the issue of the day. The commandant of the garrison, Lieutenant Porter Hanks, of the artillery, determined to give as gallant a resistance to the assailants as his small force would allow him.

The island of Michilimackinac is about nine miles in circumference, of irregular form and broken surface. It is separated from the main land by a strait of about seven miles broad, its greatest breadth is three miles, and its elevation above the lake, on its highest ground, about one hundred and sixty-eight feet. A proposal was made to government, in 1797, to erect a citadel on this elevation, which would be impregnable. Two square stone houses, united by a stockade, stand in the rear of the fort, which is situated on a bluff rock rising from the water, but is entirely overlooked by the high ground at a distance of six hundred yards. The island itself is of a circular form, highest in the centre, and resembling a turtle's back; from which circumstance it is said to have taken its name—(Michilimackinac, or the Turtle.)

The enemy had landed on the back part of the island, and urged

* Pronounced—Mackinaw.

his approach within cannon shot of the fort, where he gained the eminence commanding it, and from which he directed a piece of heavy cannon against its most defenceless side. The Indians were arranged on the edge of an adjoining wood. The British commandant now sent a flag, with a demand for the surrender of the fort and island, and communicated the first intelligence which the garrison received of the declaration of war. The movement of the British and Indians had been until this moment considered as one, among the many outrages, to which the frontier of that neighbourhood had been exposed, and the American commandant had resolved to shut himself up and defend the fortress to the very last extremity, though it should result in the total annihilation of his force. But, on being informed of the actual state of hostilities, he was aware that if he held out, the enemy, whose present number could not be effectually opposed, might be largely reinforced, and that the fall of the garrison would be followed by the threatened indiscriminate slaughter, as well of the soldiers composing it, as of the non-combatant inhabitants of the island. The only measure which could save them from the brutal massacre of the savages, was a surrender of the fort to the British, and Lieutenant Hanks very prudently entered into terms of capitulation, in which he secured a promised protection to all private property, though he put the enemy in possession of a fortress susceptible of being rendered the strongest in America.

It will be observed that the loss of Michilimackinac took place on the 17th of July, and that General Hull, already apprized of the war, arrived at Detroit on the 5th—and the reader will judge whether this intelligence could not have been transmitted to Michilimackinac, a distance of two hundred and fifty-four miles, and whether that post ought not to have been immediately reinforced. The enemy had knowledge of the existence of hostilities, through the activity of persons concerned in the North-west Fur Company, nine days *preceding* the arrival of the American disposables, whilst the American garrison was suffered to remain in ignorance for *twelve* days after—and to the vigilance of one side, and the tardiness or negligence of the other, is this disaster to be ascribed.

Preparations were still going on at Sandwich for an attempt

on Malden, when the army were informed of the affair at Michilimackinac by the capture of two vessels, in which the prisoners taken there had been embarked. Unless the contemplated attack on Malden should result in the success of the American arms, the situation of the troops would become critical in the extreme; the possession of Michilimackinac gave the enemy many decided advantages, and if the capture of that post should be followed up by an assault on Fort Chicago, all the fortified stations west of Detroit would be in his hands, and the whole of his Indian forces might be thrown upon that frontier. Detroit would be an easy conquest, and the American army might be so encompassed that its retreat would be impossible. The Indians from the shores of the northwestern lakes were already released from constraint, and the British commander was collecting large bodies of them to move down upon Detroit and the intermediate garrisons. Depending on the arrival of reinforcements, however, for which, in anticipation of these events General Hull had despatched numerous expresses; and being assured of the importance of the occupation of Amherstburg, he remained at Sandwich, carrying on an excursive war by small parties, and reconnoitering the enemy's outposts with incessant vigilance. Skirmishes were frequent. In one of them Colonel M'Arthur made capture of a quantity of arms, ammunition, flour, and other provisions, and upwards of one thousand blankets.

Colonel Cass, of the 3d regiment of Ohio volunteers, was ordered with a detachment of two hundred and eighty men, to reconnoiter an advanced post of the enemy upon a long bridge, crossing *Riviere Aux Canards*, or the River of the Ducks, about four miles from Fort Malden. A company of riflemen, commanded by Captain Robinson, was concealed near the bridge, with directions to fire upon and divert the attention of the guard stationed upon it, as soon as the remaining part of the detachment should be seen on the opposite bank of the river, which was intended to be forded about five miles below. An unlooked for difficulty at the ford caused so much delay in the movement of the detachment, that it did not appear at the appointed ground until sunset, when, having marched, without a guide, too near the bank of the river, its progress was obstructed by a tributary



Colonel Cass.

creek; to pass this, a march of another mile was necessary, and time was consequently allowed for the enemy to prepare for his defence. On coming down the creek, Colonel Cass found the British already formed, and received from them a distant fire of musketry. The detachment moved on, however, in good order and with great spirit and alacrity. The British, who had been reinforced at intervals during the whole afternoon, and whose number was made up of the 41st regiment and some Indians, made several other attempts to fire, but were as often compelled to retreat, the detachment continuing to move up, regardless of their opposition. They were driven more than half a mile, when the darkness of the night made further pursuit hazardous, and Colonel Cass was content to possess the bridge and some adjoining houses until morning, when, after reconnoitering the neighbourhood and not finding the enemy, he commenced his return to the camp at Sandwich. No accurate information could be obtained of the force opposed to the detachment, but the loss of the enemy was reported by deserters at [illegible] killed [illegible] wounded. The detachment lost not a single [illegible] after

wards fortified by the British with six pieces of artillery, but this being deemed insufficient for its defence, they removed both bridge and battery and planted their cannon behind a breastwork constructed from the timber.

Three days after (19th July) Colonel M'Arthur with one hundred and fifty men from his own regiment, (Ohio volunteers,) on relieving a detachment which was out, proceeded to the reconnoitering ground of Colonel Cass, whence he discovered the enemy—eighty-five regulars, forty Indians, and one hundred and fifty militia protected by this battery. The Queen Charlotte of twenty guns being at the same time anchored in Detroit river, at the mouth of Aux Canards, with a gunboat cruising about her. The firing was kept up for nearly an hour between the battery and a few riflemen in advance of the troops, but at too great a distance to have effect, whilst M'Arthur was examining the Queen Charlotte.

On finding the enemy so well protected by the battery, the riflemen were ordered to retire to the detachment, but M'Arthur's desire to ascertain the true situation of the enemy, induced him to go near the broken bridge with a glass. He discovered that the Indians had principally left the battery, and was almost at the same instant informed by a messenger from the detachment that a number of them were seen passing to a road in its rear. He was now attended by Dr. M'Anaw and Captain Puthuff, who, on turning their horses to ride with him to the detachment, were fired upon by about thirty Indians, from their concealment in a brush, at the distance of only one hundred yards. They escaped, however, without being hurt, a ball intended for M'Arthur having struck his horse's head below the browband, and glancing to the ground. His men were led to the pursuit of the Indians, and drove them across Aux Canards to the battery, between the detachment and which the fire was kept up at long shot for three hours, without other injury to the Americans than the wounding of two men, though several broadsides had been discharged from the Queen Charlotte.

The chief, Tecumseh, celebrated for his dexterity with the tomahawk and rifle, not less than for his relentless cruelty in the use of them against the inhabitants of the frontier, was at the

head of the Indians. The escape, therefore, of M'Arthur and his companions from a troop of savages, trained and commanded by such a warrior as Tecumseh, was almost miraculous. It was no less fortunate that the detachment bravely moved up at the report of the fire of the Indians, and put them to immediate flight. M'Arthur encamped for the night within two miles of Aux Canards, and on the following morning returned to the army, with Colonel Cass and one hundred men, by whom he was then joined.

Between this time and the beginning of August, no event took place which could afford the American troops an opportunity of displaying their true character. The inclemency of the weather was very unfavourable to the operations of an army. Sudden transitions from extreme heat to intense cold, followed by violent storms of rain and hail, rendered them both sickly and discontented. They had been all enamoured of an expedition which promised them so much honour and renown, and when they landed on the Canadian shore they were filled with such assurances of conquest as made their impatience for achievement almost ungovernable. The tardiness, which now seemed inseparable from the conduct of their commander, dispirited them, and destroyed whatever of confidence they might have reposed in him before. The result of a council of war, however, which it was found necessary to convoke, revived all their desires, and a spirit, no less active than that with which they had set out, pervaded the whole encampment. In two days more, by proper exertions, every arrangement would be completed for the investment of Fort Malden. At the end of that time the heavy cannon might be ready; if they should not, the council recommended an attempt with the bayonet. The British garrison had been constantly deserted by the embodied Canadian militia, and a vigorous attack upon it, however gallant the defence, could not but be attended with ultimate success. The deliberations of the council corresponded with the opinions of the general, and the day was appointed on which the assault was to take place. The cannon were well mounted, and embarked on floating batteries; the ammunition was already placed in wagons provided for its conveyance; the troops were animated by the prospect of a

combat, and not at all doubtful of a certain and brilliant victory.

A company of volunteers from Ohio, under command of Captain Brush, had arrived at the river Raisin, with a quantity of provisions for the army. Although the troops were already supplied for many days, these provisions might be necessary in the event of conquest. The distance from Detroit to the point at which they had arrived was thirty-six miles, and their march was liable to be intercepted by scouting parties from the enemy. Major Vanhorne was therefore despatched, with one hundred and fifty men, to meet and escort them to their destination. He had nearly reached Brownstown, on his second day's march, when he was attacked in front, and on both flanks, by a very superior force, regulars and Indians. A warm engagement followed. To the Americans the odds were fearful, but their resistance was obstinate. A retreat became indispensable, but to succeed in it, the exercise of great judgment was necessary. The volunteers had confidence in that of their commander, and he brought them off, with the loss of nineteen killed and missing, and nine wounded. Among the former were Captains M'Culloch, Bostler, and Gilcrease, who fought with that gallantry which has never failed to distinguish the citizens of the state to which they belonged; among the latter was Captain Ulry, since dead, whose conduct was no less noble than that of his companions.

Major Vanhorne had scarcely been sent from Sandwich, when a change of measures was adopted by the general in opposition to the wishes and entreaties of all his officers. The enterprise against Malden was abandoned, and he announced his intention of evacuating Canada and posting himself at Fort Detroit. The promulgation of his intentions was attended by an order to break up the encampment and to recross the river in the night. Consternation and dismay were visible in the countenance of every, the meanest soldier; their confidence was destroyed, and they considered their commander as timid and irresolute. The presence of their own officers, on whose capabilities they implicitly relied, alone prevented one universal burst of indignation. Reluctantly, and with much murmuring, they obeyed the order; and at daybreak of the morning of the eighth they found themselves garri

soned at Detroit. Here the intelligence of the late skirmish was received.

The communication, which had been opened by the army between Raisin and their present post, was shut up by the savages. It was indispensably necessary that it should be again opened, or the provisions at that river could never reach the garrison, which, in a few weeks, would be in want of rations.

To Lieutenant-Colonel James Miller the command of a strong detachment was for this purpose assigned. He immediately took up his line of march with three hundred regulars and two hundred militia. The regulars were of the 4th regiment, which had acquired imperishable renown, under the gallant Colonel Boyd, at Tippecanoe. The British and Indians anticipated the return of the detachment which they had driven back, and calculated that it would be largely reinforced. Their own body was therefore increased to a number, competent as they supposed, to drive off, or perhaps to capture them. They were seven hundred and fifty strong, and might be reinforced during an engagement from Malden, opposite to which was the village of Brownstown, which they had taken possession of a few days before. They fortified the ground at a place called Maguaga, nearly four miles from Brownstown, by felling trees and erecting breastworks. Behind these they intended to conceal themselves until the Americans should attain the point at which they might deal out to them what measure of destruction they pleased. The Indians were commanded by their great leader, Tecumseh; the united force by Major Muir of the British army.

On the 9th, the American troops, though they proceeded with great caution, reached the ground on which the enemy desired to see them before they discovered their ambuscade. Captain Snelling, commanding the advance, was attacked from it, and sustained a combat until the main body came up, when the British and Indians sprang suddenly from behind the works, formed a line of battle with great celerity, and commenced a brisk fire, accompanied with all the demonstrations of savage war. Sudden and unexpected as was the attack, the intrepid commander of the American force was not the least dismayed; his troops received the shock without shrinking, and with [illegible]

which are commonly looked for in soldiers of long experience, he as suddenly drew up his men, and after a rapid fire, charged upon the enemy with such unlooked for firmness, as to throw them into complete disorder. The obstinacy of the Indians, however, would not admit of flight; they might not act in concert with the British, and resorting to their own kind of combat, they were resolved not to abandon the contest. But the British had now recovered from their confusion, and a scene of indescribable horror ensued. Five hundred Indians, led on and encouraged by the regulars, (many of whom were like themselves, almost naked,) frightfully painted, and sending forth such dreadful whooping and yelling, as might have appalled almost any other troops, were fighting on every side of the American detachment; but on every side they were gallantly repulsed. No such means could induce these brave men to forsake their standard, or to disgrace their nation. They saw danger strengthening around them, they knew what kind of destiny awaited their defeat, and they were resolutely determined to repel the foe, or to yield only with their lives.

Colonel Miller found himself contending against a force more than one-third superior to his own, but he was animated by the same spirit which was exhibited by his men. Over such men, headed by such a commander, the enemy could not hope to be victorious. The firmness of the Americans had that effect upon the British and Indians, which it was intended by their savage noises should be produced on them. They found that they had no terrors to resort to which could attain their end, and they began from necessity to give ground. The obstinacy of the detachment was equal to the determined character of the Indians, and the latter became first intimidated.

The united forces were driven, inch by inch, into Brownstown, and would have been beaten into submission, had not a squadron of boats been ready to receive them at that place. They made as rapid a retreat across the river as their oarsmen knew how, and returned to Malden with an inferior force to that with which they had left it. Their loss was, in regulars, seven killed and wounded; of Indians they left nearly one hundred on the field.

In the stout contest, which the detachment kept up for more



Battle of Maguaga.

than two hours, there were killed fifteen, and wounded between thirty and forty. The officers who principally distinguished themselves were Captain Baker, Lieutenants Larabee and Peters, and Ensign Whistler. The first of them was shot three different times during the battle; the second lost his left arm, and the two latter were also wounded. Colonel Miller remained at Brownstown until the meridian of the next day, when he received orders to return to Detroit. The troops were exhausted by so vigorous an engagement, and they would have been unable to proceed further. A fresh detachment would probably be sent upon the same expedition; and Colonel Miller, knowing how necessary it was that his men should be refreshed, was not averse from this order.

Captain Brush was still waiting at the river Raisin for an escort, when he received a letter from General Hull, of the 11th of August, in the following words: "The state of the communication between this [Detroit] and the river Raisin is such, that a sufficient detachment cannot be sent to bring on the provisions with safety. You will therefore remain at the river Raisin, and in conjunction with the regiment, Le Croix's corps, and your own, protect the provisions and yourselves until further orders. The detachment sent for the purpose are so fatigued, after a severe and victorious battle, that it will return here." In a postscript to this letter, it was left to the discretion of Captain Brush, on consulting with Colonel Anderson, and the bearer of the letter, to proceed by a route on an upper road, crossing the river Huron; on determining on which, immediate notice was to be given at Detroit. Colonels Cass and M'Arthur were despatched, on the evening of the 14th, with three hundred and fifty men, to assist in the transportation of the provisions through that channel.

On the same day on which the victory at Maguaga was achieved, Captain Heald, the commandant at Fort Chicago, since called Fort Dearborn, received orders to proceed immediately with his command to Detroit, by land. Accordingly on the 15th, after delivering to the friendly Indians, in conformity to his instructions, all the goods in the factory, and such provisions as could not be taken away, and destroying the surplus arms and ammunition, he commenced his march with fifty-four regu

lars and twelve militia, the whole amount of his force, and was escorted by Captain Wells, of Fort Wayne, and a few friendly Indians of the Miami tribe, sent thither for that purpose. As the place would now be defenseless, the inhabitants, principally women and children, were directed to accompany the troops. The little party had not proceeded more than one mile and a half, between a high sand-bank and the lake, when it was discovered that a number of hostile Indians were preparing to attack them from behind the bank.

Captain Heald immediately ordered his company to ascend it; and they had scarcely done so, when an action commenced, in which, after firing one round and charging with great velocity upon the Indians, the latter were obliged to give way in front, but joining the party on the American flanks, they kept up their fire, and got possession of all the horses, provisions, and baggage of every description. The friendly Indians standing aloof, refusing to take part in the contest, and apparently awaiting the issue, that they might determine on which side to belong, made it necessary for Captain Heald to draw off his few men, and take possession of a small elevation in an open *prairie*, out of shot of the bank or any other cover. Here he received an offer of protection from an Indian chief on condition of his surrender, which, without much reliance on its faith, he accepted, because of the great disparity of force, the Indian warriors amounting to nearly five hundred. Their loss was about fifteen. Of the Americans, twenty-six regulars and all the militia were killed: among them, Captain Wells and Ensign George Roman, both officers of great gallantry. Two women and twelve children were also killed. The Indians had it now in their power to move to any part of the country through which the communication had been formed between the river Raisin and Detroit, and numbers of them were accordingly posted at several points on that road, whilst a stronger party proceeded against Fort Wayne. Their absence was taken advantage of by Captain Heald, whom they had taken to the mouth of St. Josephs, and who now, with his lady, procured a conveyance to Michilimackinac, where he was received politely by the commandant, Captain Roberts. Mrs. Heald was wounded by six shot—the captain by two.

Any attempt to accelerate the transportation of the provisions would now be useless, for on the 13th the British had taken a position opposite Detroit. They were occupied in throwing up breastworks during that and the two following days, at the end of which time they had completed a battery of two eighteen pounders and an eight inch howitzer, without any interruption from the American fort. Major Denny, of the volunteers, who had been left in garrison at Sandwich with two hundred and fifty infantry, and a corps of artillerists, was obliged on their approach to make his retreat across the river. This he effected in good order.

On the 15th a flag of truce was received from the British, with the following summons: "Sir—The force at my disposal authorizes me to require of you the surrender of Fort Detroit. It is far from my inclination to join in a war of extermination, but you must be aware that the numerous body of Indians, who have attached themselves to my troops, will be beyond my control the moment the contest commences. You will find me disposed to enter into such conditions as will satisfy the most scrupulous sense of honour. Lieutenant-Colonel M'Donnell and Major Glegg are fully authorized to conclude any arrangement that may lead to prevent the unnecessary effusion of blood. I have the honour to be, &c. ISAAC BROCK, Maj. Gen.

"His Ex. Brig. Gen. HULL, com'g at Fort Detroit."

To this summons it was returned for answer, that the "town and fort would be defended to the last extremity." The British then opened their batteries upon the town, and continued to throw their shells into the fort from four o'clock until midnight. The fire was returned until dark with little effect. At daylight the next morning the firing again commenced, whilst the British, under the protection of their ships, were landing their forces at Spring Wells. At about ten o'clock they proceeded in a close column, twelve in front, along the bank of the river towards the fort.

From Fort Detroit the enemy could not have been prevented from landing, had he attempted it, even in its more immediate vicinity. Its situation had been originally chosen without skill; the town actually standing between it and the river, and the foot

of the *scarp* being more than two hundred rods from it. On the evening of the 15th it was, therefore, suggested to General Hull that the British should be opposed on the margin of the river, that there was a position at that point whence they could be destroyed, with the utmost certainty, as fast as they could land; and that a strong battery, well manned there, would be a better security than the Fort of Detroit.

The suggestions of General Hull's officers were too often disregarded. The enemy had now landed, and no obstruction could prevent his approach until he should be either in the rear of the town or of the fort, when all the strength of the latter might be successfully brought against him.

The 4th regiment was stationed within the fort; the Ohio volunteers, and part of the Michigan militia, behind pickets, from which the enemy's whole flank could be annoyed; the residue of the militia were in the town to resist the Indians, and two twenty-four pounders, loaded with grape shot, were posted on an eminence from which they could sweep the advancing column. The superiority of position was apparent on the side of the Americans, and their force at least equal to that of the enemy. They had four hundred rounds of twenty-four pound shot, already fixed, and about one hundred thousand cartridges made. Their provisions were sufficient for fifteen days, and every man of them awaited the approach of the enemy with a full and eager expectation of victory. The head of the column had advanced within five hundred yards of the American line, when General Hull ordered the troops to retreat to the fort, and not by any means to open the twenty-four pounders upon the enemy. The feelings of the soldiers were not now to be restrained, as they had been a few days before at Sandwich. Indignation at the conduct, and contempt for the capacity of the commanding general, could not longer be disguised, and they loudly uttered their discontent. They entered the fort, however, which, though crowded so that any movement was impracticable, was scarcely capable of containing them. Here they were directed to stack their arms, and they had the mortification to see the flag of their country struck to the invaders, and the fort surrendered, without the discharge of a single gun. A white flag was suspended from its walls, and



Detroit.

such was the astonishment, even of the enemy's troops, that a British officer rode up to ascertain its meaning. It was the first instance, perhaps, which they had ever known, of the surrender of a military post without a previous arrangement of the terms; and they had little expectation of so tame a submission. Those brave troops, who had but eight days before beaten and put this same enemy to flight, were now obliged to march out in review, and lay down their arms to an inferior force, who had done no other thing towards the capture of the garrison than showing themselves before it.

Not only the heroes of Brownstown, but the detachments then absent from the fort, the volunteers and all the provisions at Raisin, and those of no inconsiderable amount, the fortified posts and garrisons, and the whole territory and inhabitants of Michigan, were delivered over by capitulation to the commanding general of the British forces. Forty barrels of powder, two thousand five hundred stand of arms, and an armament, (consisting of twenty-five iron, and eight brass pieces of ordnance,) the greater part of which had been captured from the British in the revolutionary war, were surrendered with them. The detachment which had been sent out under Colonels Cass and M'Arthur, had received orders the night before to return; but when they arrived within sight of Detroit, before which the enemy was already stationed, it became necessary to use excessive caution in their nearer approach. They were accidentally thrown into a situation, the best for annoying and cutting off the retreat of the enemy, which could possibly be selected; and if they had heard any firing, or had seen any indication of an engagement, they might have attacked the rear of the column, and placed the enemy's raw troops between their own fire and that of the fort. They could not imagine what measures were in operation, when an uninterrupted silence prevailed between two hostile armies within fighting distance of each other; the arrangement for a surrender was the last among their surmises, because they knew that the garrison was superior to any force which could then be brought against it. Their doubts were relieved by a message from General Hull to the following effect: "I have signed articles of capitulation for the surrender of this garrison, in which you and your detach

ment are prisoners of war. Such part of the Ohio militia as have not joined the army, will be permitted to return to their homes on condition that they will not serve during the war. Their arms, however, will be given up, if belonging to the public." This despatch was forwarded by Colonel M'Arthur to Captain Brush. The volunteers and militia returned to their respective homes, but General Hull and the 4th regiment, and part of the 1st, were taken to Montreal, whence they were destined for Quebec. General Brock issued his proclamation announcing to the inhabitants of Michigan the cession of that territory to the arms of his Britannic majesty, and establishing regulations for its civil government. The capitulation of an immense territory, and the surrender of the whole north-western army, which was composed of men feelingly alive to the honour of their country, ambitious of distinguishing themselves in arms, and most of whom had left their families and their friends to encounter the fatigues and dangers of a long campaign, excited a sensation among the people from one extremity of the country to the other, not less indignant than that which was felt by the troops themselves. When General Brock said that the force at his disposal authorized him to require the surrender, he must have had a very exalted opinion of the prowess of his own soldiers, or a very mistaken one of the ability of those which were commanded by the American general. The force at his disposal was inferior to the garrison of Detroit, even in the absence of the detachments. In a letter to Sir George Prevost, he states the American force at two thousand five hundred—which, however, could not be correct, as it had met with losses in the different skirmishes—and his own at six hundred white troops, and six hundred Indians. By the return of his quartermaster-general, it consisted of—

British regulars, infantry and artillery, . . .	382
Indians, principally Chippewas, Hurons and Pottawatamies,	650
Militia, in regular uniforms, ...	362
Total,	1394

Of these, few of the Indians were visible, as they generally skulked in the woods, and did not advance upon the fort with the British column. The force of General Hull's army, by the morn-

ing report, was one thousand and sixty, exclusive of the detachment of three hundred and fifty men, and three hundred Michigan militia, then out on duty, which would have made seventeen hundred and ten; superior to the enemy by three hundred and sixteen. On the arrival of Captain Brush from Raisin, his total force would have amounted to more than eighteen hundred and sixty.

Had the troops remained at Sandwich till the provisions were brought on, the surrender of this force to a body of troops inferior in quality as well as number, would have been prevented. The British did not appear at that place until they had heard of its evacuation, they were induced to follow up the American army, because of its abrupt departure from the Canadian shore, and it has been matter of conjecture whether General Hull's conduct was the result of cowardice, mental imbecility and moral depravity, or corrupt perfidy. In his official despatches to the government he accounted for it by saying, "the surrender of Michilimackinac opened the northern hive of Indians, and they were swarming down in every direction. Reinforcements from Niagara had arrived at Amherstburg under the command of Colonel Proctor. The desertion of the militia ceased. Besides the reinforcements that came by water, I received information of a very considerable force under the command of Major Chambers, on the river Le Tranche, with four field-pieces, and collecting the militia on his route, evidently destined for Amherstburg, and in addition to this combination and increase of force, contrary to all expectations the Wyandots, Chippewas and other tribes with whom I had the most friendly intercourse, at once passed over to Amherstburg and accepted the tomahawk and scalping knife. There being now a vast number of Indians at the British post, they were sent to the river Huron, Brownstown, and Maguaga, to intercept my communication.

"Under this sudden and unexpected change of things, and having received an express from General Hall commanding opposite the British shore on the Niagara river, by which it appeared that there was no prospect of any co-operation from that quarter, and the two senior officers of the artillery having stated to me an opinion that it would be extremely difficult if not impossible to

pass the Turkey river and the river Aux Canards with twenty-four-pounders, and that they could not be transported by water, as the Queen Charlotte, which carries eighteen twenty-four-pounders, lay in the river Detroit above the mouth of the river Aux Canards, and as it appeared indispensably necessary to open the communication to the river Raisin and the Miami, I found myself compelled to suspend the operations against Amherstburg and concentrate the main force of the army at Detroit, fully intending at that time, after the communication was opened, to recross the river and pursue the object at Amherstburg, and strongly desirous of continuing protection to a very large number of the inhabitants of Upper Canada who had voluntarily accepted it under my proclamation; I established a fortress on the banks of the river a little below Detroit, calculated for a garrison of three hundred men. On the evening of the 7th and morning of the 8th instant, the army, excepting the garrison of two hundred and fifty infantry and a corps of artillerists, all under the command of Major Denny of the Ohio volunteers, recrossed the river and encamped at Detroit."

But the greater part of the statement contained in his despatches was contradicted by his officers of the highest grades, and particularly that in which, after describing the approach of the enemy, he continued—

"It now became necessary either to fight the enemy in the field, collect the whole force in the fort, or propose terms of capitulation. I could not have carried into the field more than six hundred men, and left any adequate force in the fort. There were landed at that time of the enemy a regular force of much more than that number, and twice the number of Indians. Considering this great inequality of force, I did not think it expedient to adopt the first measure. The second must have been attended with a great sacrifice of blood, and no possible advantage, because the contest could not have been sustained for more than a day for the want of powder, and but a very few days for the want of provisions. In addition to this, Colonels M'Arthur and Cass would have been in a most hazardous situation. I feared nothing but the last alternative. I have dared to adopt it. I well know

the high responsibility of the measure, and I take the whole of it on myself."

With this account the government were not satisfied; nor was the court-martial before whom, on being exchanged for thirty British prisoners, he was tried.

After an investigation of all the facts, that court declined making a decision on the charge of treason, which was alleged against him, but said that they did not believe, from any thing which had come before them, that he had been guilty of that act. On the second charge, for cowardice—and the third, for neglect of duty and unofficerlike conduct, they condemned him. A sentence of death was passed upon him; but in consideration of his revolutionary services and his advanced age, he was earnestly recommended to the mercy of the president, who remitted the sentence, but directed a general order to be issued, by which his name was struck from the rolls of the army.

Could that genius and enterprise, which distinguished the other officers of the north-western army, have been imparted to its commander, a more glorious issue to the American arms must have been the necessary result. The conduct of the several detachments, and the ample success of each excursion, gave an almost incontestible proof that a vigorous prosecution of the warfare would have obtained complete victory. Had the effect of these successes been followed up by a rapid movement of the army itself, and proper advantages been taken of the desertions from the enemy's garrison, the whole country would have been subjugated, or laid open to future expeditions, and the object of the present would doubtless have been achieved. Weakness and imbecility, however, supplied the place of military talent, and the result was different from that which was looked to by the army and the nation.





CHAPTER II.

Naval Campaign of 1812.



CONTEMPORANEOUS with the disaster at Detroit was a succession of brilliant achievements on the ocean, paralleled perhaps, but never yet surpassed; the intelligence of which entirely dispelled the temporary gloom which pervaded the minds, and filled with grief the hearts of the American people. At the commencement of hostilities, such of the United States vessels of war whose equipments were entire, had orders to proceed immediately to sea. A squadron of three frigates, one brig, and one sloop of war, sailed on the 21st of June from New York, in quest of several of the enemy's frigates, known to be at that time cruising off the entrance to that harbour. On the 3d of July, the frigate Essex, Captain Porter, went to sea from the same port; and the Constitution, Captain Hull, sailed from the Chesapeake bay on the 12th. The brigs Nautilus, Viper, and Vixen, were at the same time cruising off the coast, and the sloop of war Wasp was at sea, on her return from France.

On the morning of the 17th, an English squadron, consisting



Escape of the Constitution.

of the Africa, a ship of the line, the frigates Shannon, Guerriere, Belvidere, and Æolus, and a brig and schooner, the nearest of the frigates being within gun-shot, gave chase to the Constitution. A calm prevailing during the whole day, towing and warping were unremittingly resorted to; but the enemy, by attaching all the boats of the squadron to two of the frigates, were gaining so much upon the Constitution, as to bring their bow guns to bear upon her, though they received several discharges from her stern chasers. The chase continued all night. On the following morning (18th) at daylight, the Constitution, taking advantage of a fresh breeze which just then sprang up, spread all her canvass, outsailed, and escaped from her pursuers, and arrived at Boston on the evening of the 26th—whence she sailed upon a cruise on the 2d of August. The chase continued for sixty hours; the ship's crew were all that time at their stations, and the escape of the frigate from seven sail, two of which were warped up by more than six times the number of men and boats employed by the Constitution, has been considered as an incontestible proof of the superior skill and seamanship of her commander. The

officers of the pursuing ships, one of whom was afterwards captured by Captain Hull, have spoken of it in terms of the highest admiration.

Congress having authorized the president to issue letters of marque and reprisals, the ocean was very soon covered with private armed ships from almost every port in the United States. One of the first which sailed was the schooner Atlas, commanded by Captain David Moffat; who, on the 3d of August, fell in with two armed ships of the enemy, and at 11 A. M. engaged them both. The action commenced by a broadside of musketry from the Atlas, and was continued without intermission until noon, when one of the enemy's ships struck her colours. The whole fire of the Atlas was then brought against the largest ship, when that which had already struck again opened her broadside. A few shot from the Atlas, however, drove every man from her decks, and compelled her a second time to yield. At twenty minutes, P. M., the largest ship struck also, and on taking possession of them, Captain Moffat found them to be the ship Pursuit, of four hundred and fifty tons, sixteen guns, eighteens and nines, and thirty-five men; and the ship Planter, of twelve guns, twelve-pounders, and fifteen men. During the action the Atlas was very much disabled in her rigging, and had two men killed and five wounded. Among the latter, a seaman of the name of William Curl, who behaved with great coolness, and refused to quit his quarters, though he had received a wound which afterwards proved to be mortal. The three vessels were making a port, when a British frigate hove in sight and recaptured the Planter; but the Atlas, and her largest prize, arrived safely in the Delaware.

On the 13th of August the frigate Essex, which had now been cruising forty days, fell in with the British sloop of war Alert, Captain T. L. P. Langhorne, of twenty guns, and one hundred and thirty men; who immediately ran down upon the frigate's weather quarter, gave three cheers, commenced an action, and after eight minutes firing, struck her colours, with seven feet water in her hold, her hull cut to pieces, and three of her men wounded. The officers and crew of the Essex, which received not the slightest injury, were highly amused at the boldness of

the enemy, who must have calculated on an easy conquest over the American frigate. A few broadsides, however, deliberately fired into the sloop of war, brought down her colours; and after concluding an arrangement with Captain Langhorne to that effect, Captain Porter dismantled her of her armament, and putting all his prisoners, being about five hundred, on board, sent her under the command of one of his officers, Lieutenant J. P. Wilmer, as a cartel to St. Johns, in Newfoundland; whence she was instructed to sail for New York with whatever American prisoners might be given in exchange.

About seventeen days after, late in the afternoon of the 30th, Captain Porter discovered, and stood under easy sail, for one of the enemy's frigates, which was at the same time standing for him. The Essex was cleared, and the crew anxious for an engagement. Being apprehensive that the enemy might not find him in the night, Captain Porter hoisted a light at the masthead, and at nine o'clock discovered a signal of two flashes and a blue-light, at about four miles distance. The Essex stood on for the point at which this signal was given until midnight, but not getting a sight of the enemy he hove to, under an expectation that the hostile ship would do the same, until morning. To the great surprise of Captain Porter, and the mortification of his crew, at daylight the enemy was not to be seen.

On the 4th of September, in attempting to get into New York, the Essex was intercepted and chased by two large ships of war, who gained her wake and came up with great fleetness; but she escaped from them by manœuvering in the night, having first hoisted American colours and fired a gun to windward. One of the ships being considerably to windward of the other, and about five miles astern of the Essex, it was determined to heave about as soon as it became dark, and in the event of not being able to pass, to fire a broadside into her and lay her on board. The wind heading the Essex off, however, at thirty minutes after eight she bore away, and being cut off from New York, effected her escape into the bay of Delaware, where she arrived on the 7th without the loss of a man—having made nine captures in addition to the Alert. The Alert returned from St. Johns, and arrived

at New York on the 16th of September, with two hundred and seventy American prisoners.

On the 28th of August the Constitution returned to Boston from a cruise commenced upon the second of that month, and signalized by a brilliant and victorious contest with a British ship of war, the commander of which had repeatedly threatened the capture of any one of the American frigates which it might be his fortune to encounter. The frigate Guerriere had been sailing off the coast for several months previous to the declaration of war, and had frequently shown herself at the entrances of the different ports, with her name written in large characters upon a flag at one of her mastheads, and at another the words "*not the Little Belt*"—in allusion to an affair which had taken place between a sloop of war of that name and the United States frigate President, in which the latter ship retorted an assault committed on her, in time of peace, by discharging two broadsides at, and nearly sinking, the sloop of war.* Captain Hull had been informed of the

* On the 16th of May, the Little Belt, commanded by Captain Bingham, and mounting eighteen guns, was hailed by the President, to know what ship she was. The captain of the Little Belt repeated the question, without answering it, and Commodore Rodgers again asked, "What ship is that?" This demand was followed by a shot from the Little Belt. The President returned it, and received a broadside from her. Commodore Rodgers then gave a general order to fire, and having silenced the other, again inquired what ship she was. He now received an answer which informed him of the character of the vessel, and he lay to, in order to assist her in repairing her damages.

"This occurrence," says Mr. Cooper, in his Naval History, "gave rise to much discussion in America, and widened the breach which already existed between the American and English nations. The account given by Captain Bingham differed essentially from that of Commodore Rodgers, and official investigations were made on both sides. On that of the Americans, a formal court of inquiry was held, and every sea officer in the ship was examined, as well as a great many of the petty officers. The testimony was very clear, and it was in a great measure free from the discrepancies that usually distinguish the accounts of battles, whether by sea or land. The fact that the Little Belt fired the first gun, was established by the oath of the officer who ordered the gun fired in return. This gentleman distinctly testified that he gave the command, under a standing order of the ship, and in consequence of having seen the flash and heard the report of the Little Belt's gun. He not only testified that he heard the report of the gun, but that he also heard the noise made by the shot which had entered the mast. Other officers and men corroborated this account, and in a way to render their evidence not only consistent with itself, but with probability. As the President was very fully officered, the number and respectability of the witnesses put at rest all cavilling about the facts."



Commodore Hull.

appearance of a single ship of war, to the eastward of the coast, and immediately stood in that direction. Between the 2d and the 19th of August, he made several captures of merchantmen, and recaptured an American brig which had been taken by the Avenger. On that day, in lat. 41 deg. 42 min. N., and long. 55 deg. 33 min. W., he discovered a large frigate of the enemy, set all sail in chase, and came up with and captured her after a spirited engagement of forty-five minutes. She proved to be the frigate Guerriere, of thirty-eight guns, but carrying forty-nine, and commanded by Captain James R. Dacres. She was discovered at about two, P. M. and at four, the Constitution was closing fast upon her. At ten minutes past four the enemy hoisted English colours, and commenced the action by firing several guns. The Constitution's fire was reserved until she could be put in such a position that every shot should take effect; and the sailing-master, Aylwin, brought her so skilfully into action, that Captain Hull's views were completely accomplished. But the enemy not comprehending them, suspected the Americans of

timidity, or of ignorance in the art of gunnery, and discharged his broadsides with an assurance of crippling his antagonist before he might open his battery. The crew of the Constitution anxiously awaiting the orders of their commander to fire on the foe, were themselves filled with surprise at his receiving so many rounds without yet returning them. Captain Hull, at his station however, was with great judgment reconnoitering the enemy with his glass; until finding that the ability and excellent seamanship of his sailing-master, brought up the ship to the exact station upon the enemy's beam from which he knew he could effectually annoy him, he issued his orders to fire broadside after broadside with the greatest possible rapidity. His crew, now perfectly entering into a plan which none but an able seaman could have conceived, executed his commands with as much alacrity as was required, and after fifteen minutes close and constant cannonading, the enemy's mizzen-mast having gone over his starboard quarter, the Constitution was placed upon his larboard bow, in a raking position, from which she swept the decks of the Guerriere with grape and musketry. The enemy's ship became now unmanageable, and the Constitution prepared to lay her on board. Lieutenant Bush attempted to throw his marines on her deck, when he was killed by a musket-ball, and the Guerriere, at the same moment, getting clear of the Constitution, shot ahead; but it being impos sible to get her before the wind, she was exposed to every raking fire of her opponent. Her fore and mainmasts went over the side; her hull was cut almost to pieces, and at twenty minutes past five she surrendered. The execution of the Constitution's fire was dreadfully severe, and the management of the vessel reflected great credit on her officer. Her loss was but seven killed, and seven wounded. The Guerriere's loss was about one hundred and two—in wounded sixty-two, in killed and missing upwards of forty.

The Constitution had some spars and much of her rigging shot away; after repairing which, and getting out the prisoners, she set fire to and blew up the Guerriere, which was in so sinking a condition that she could not be brought into port. Captain Hull spoke in high terms of the crew, from the smallest boy in the ship to the oldest seaman. The officers behaved with great gal-

lantry. The brave and amiable Lieutenant William Bush, the first naval officer who fell in this war, distinguished himself by intrepidly leading on the boarders, when he received the ball which deprived his country of his services. Mr. Aylwin, who manœuvered the ship so well throughout the battle, was severely wounded, and on his return to port was promoted to the rank of a lieutenant. The first officer, Lieutenant Morris, was dangerously wounded; his conduct procured for him the applause of the government, and a promotion to the rank of a post-captain. Captain Hull was received, with a degree of joy bordering on enthusiasm, by the citizens of every town through which he passed on his way to the navy department. Many of the state legislatures voted him their thanks and a sword; the freedom of several cities was presented to him, each in a gold box; and the people of Charlestown and Philadelphia subscribed for the purchase of two elegant pieces of plate. The Congress of the United States voted him, and his officers and crew, their thanks—and the sum of fifty thousand dollars.

The Guerriere was one of the finest and largest class of frigates in the British navy; a fact which is certified in a letter to Lord Keith from a British officer, Captain Thomas Lavie, of the frigate Blanche—in which ship, on the 19th of July, 1806, off the Faro Islands, after a contest of the same length, (forty-five minutes,) he captured the French frigate Le Guerriere, commanded by Monsieur Hubert of the legion of honour. His letter states, "*Le Guerreire is of the largest class of frigates, mounting fifty guns, with a complement of three hundred and seventeen men.*"

The squadron which had sailed on the 21st of June, under the command of Commodore Rodgers, and which consisted of the President, of forty-four guns, (flag ship;) United States, forty-four, Captain Decatur; Congress, thirty-six, Captain John Smith; Hornet, sixteen, Lieutenant-Commandant Lawrence; and Argus, sixteen, Lieutenant-Commandant Sinclair, returned from the cruise, and arrived in Boston harbour on the 31st of August, with about one hundred and twenty English prisoners on board, having been out seventy-two days. These vessels had been off the English channel, along the coast of France, Spain, and Portugal, within thirty miles of the Rock of Lisbon; thence to Madeira



Commodore Decatur.

Island, thence off Coro and Flores, and thence back to the Banks, and by Nova Scotia to Boston. They were, most of this time, in search of the Jamaica fleet; though on the third day out their attention was diverted by the appearance of a large sail, which was afterwards known to be the British frigate Belvidere, Captain B. Byron, and to which they gave chase. The President being a superior sailer to the rest of the squadron, was brought within gun-shot of the enemy. The breeze inclining to the westward and becoming lighter, however, the Belvidere had the advantage; at one P. M. she hoisted English colours. At four, the wind having changed, so that the two vessels sailed nearly alike, Commodore Rodgers determined to fire his bow chase guns at the rigging and spars, in the expectation of crippling the enemy, so that her escape would be prevented, or at least that the President might be enabled to come up. The fire was returned from the enemy's stern guns, and was kept up on both sides until thirty minutes past four, when one of the President's chase guns bursted, and killed and wounded sixteen men—among the latter the commodore; and by the explosion of the passing-box, from which the gun was served with powder, both the main and forecastle decks in its neighbourhood were much shattered. The [illegible] was the

put to starboard, and the discharge of the President's broadside wounded, and considerably injured, though it did not destroy, the spars and rigging of the Belvidere. The President began now to lose ground, no hope was left of bringing the enemy to close action, except that derived from being to windward, and the probability that the breeze might favour the President first, and the commodore ordered her to be steered close after him, and the bow chase guns to be kept playing on his spars, rigging and stern At five, the enemy's stern guns annoyed the President so much, that the commodore determined on another broadside, which being discharged, was found to have wounded the fore-topsail yard of the Belvidere: after this, the pursuit was kept up until eleven P. M. The President gave two more broadsides, but the Belvidere having stove and threw overboard her boats, and every thing which could be possibly spared; and having cut away her anchors, and started about fourteen tons of water, outsailed the squadron and effected her escape. Six men were killed and wounded by the Belvidere's fire, and sixteen by the accident on board the President, making in all twenty-two, among whom, beside the commodore, were five midshipmen, one lieutenant of marines, and one lieutenant of the ship.

While these events were transpiring on the ocean, several naval affairs took place upon the lakes, more inferior in their magnitude than in the heroism of the persons concerned in them. On the 30th of July, the brig Julia of one thirty-two-pounder, and two sixes, was fitted out at Sackett's Harbour, with orders to proceed to Ogdensburg. On the 31st, upon entering the St. Lawrence, within sight of Brockville, ten miles from her destination, she discovered the Earl Moira of eighteen guns, and the Duke of Gloucester of ten, lying to. The Julia bore down within three-quarters of a mile of them, and came to action. At half-past four P. M. the enemy opened their fire, and the engagement continued three hours and a half, during which time, numerous attempts were made to board the Julia by the boats of the Duke. but the thirty-two-pounder being well fought, the enemy were obliged to relinquish that plan. Both vessels hauled up under the land battery, and kept up a heavy fire. At eight o'clock, the Julia proceeded to Ogdensburg, without the loss of a man. The enemy's

loss has never been ascertained. In all the engagement three shot only struck the hull; one went through the jib, and another pierced the gun carriage of the Julia. Her crew were all volunteers; Lieutenant H. Wells having the command, Samuel Dixon being sailing-master, and Captain Benedict being on board with a small company of riflemen, acting as marines.

Lieutenant Jesse D. Elliot, of the United States navy, had been ordered to the Niagara river, to superintend the building of the vessels at Black Rock for the service on Lake Erie. The British brig Detroit, of six-pound long guns, formerly the United States brig Adams, which had been taken at the surrender of Detroit, and the brig Caledonia, of two small guns, both well appointed and supplied with blunderbusses, pistols, muskets, cutlasses, boarding-pikes, and battle-axes, came down the lake and anchored under the protection of Fort Erie, on the morning of the eighth of October. Lieutenant Elliot planned an expedition against them, which, because there were but few seamen at the station, was to be executed by volunteers from the army. This plan was communicated to General Smyth, who immediately agreed to supply the regulars to man two boats to attack and cut out the enemy's vessels. Several companies of artillery and infantry, who arrived at the rock only a few days before, on hearing the proposal for volunteers, stepped forward to a man, and such was the eagerness of all the troops, that it became necessary to resort to lot. Fifty men only were wanted: Lieutenant Elliot having heard that the same number of seamen were at a short distance from him, on their route to the naval station, and who arrived at twelve o'clock on the morning of that day, and whom, though they came off a march of five hundred miles, he determined should be also of the expedition. At four o'clock in the afternoon the selection was completed, and the men stationed in two boats, (fifty in each,) commanded by Lieutenant Elliot and Sailing-Master Watts. In the same boat with the former, was Lieutenant Isaac Roach, and with the latter, Captain N. Towson, both of the artillery, and officers of great merit, who had been fortunate enough to draw the successful lots. About three hours before daylight of the following morning, the boats put off from the mouth of Buffalo creek, and in two hours were alongside the vessels.

In ten minutes the crews of each were secured, the topsails sheeted home, and the vessels under way. The wind not being sufficiently strong to get them up against a rapid current into the lake, they were obliged to run down the Niagara, by the forts, under a strong fire of round, grape, and canister, from a number of pieces of heavy ordnance and flying artillery. They anchored within four hundred yards of the enemy's battery. The officer commanding these was hailed, and informed that if another gun was fired, the prisoners should be brought on deck and share the fate which might attend the American crew. This threat was disregarded, but the humanity of the American officers prevented them from executing it, though a constant and destructive fire was kept up from the enemy. The Caledonia succeeded in getting under the batteries at Black Rock; but the Detroit could not be got across. All her guns were therefore placed upon the side next the enemy, and a fire directed against the batteries as long as the ammunition lasted. During the contest several attempts to warp her over to the American shore were unsuccessfully made. The fire from the batteries was so destructive, that Lieutenant Elliot, expecting that she would soon be sunk if she remained in that situation, determined to drift down the river out of their reach, and prefer making a stand against the flying artillery. The cable was accordingly cut, and the Detroit made sail with light airs, but the pilot having abandoned her, she brought up on the American shore, on Squaw Island. The boarding-boat was immediately got ready and sent with the prisoners to the American side of the river, with directions to return for Lieutenant Elliot and whatever property could be got out of the brig; the boat, however, could not get back to her. Lieutenant Elliot was, therefore, obliged with Lieutenant Roach and four prisoners to make the shore in a skiff which they discovered under the counter. Protection was then asked for the brig from Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, of the second regiment of artillery, who immediately despatched a company of that corps, under Captain J. N. Barker, with a few pieces, to be stationed opposite the island. A boat from the British shore approached the brig with forty men, who succeeded in getting on board, but the fire of four pieces of artillery soon compelled them to abandon her, and she was left in

such a condition that it would be impossible to float her. Captain Chambers, and part of the 5th United States regiment, afterwards crossed to Squaw Island and burnt her with her valuable cargo of furs The Caledonia's cargo was estimated at two hundred thousand dollars. In all these proceedings the American loss was three killed, three severely, and four or five slightly wounded. Major Cuyler, an officer of great bravery, was killed by the first shot from the enemy's batteries, as he stood on the beach; and Midshipman John C. Cummings was wounded in the leg by a bayonet as he was boarding the Detroit. The regulars were unused to this species of service, but they had entered into it with zeal and alacrity, and their conduct was such as entitled them to the approbation which they received from their officers. Captain Towson and Lieutenant Roach were actively engaged during the whole enterprise, and contributed to its success as much by their counsel as by their intrepidity. Captain Talbot Chambers (now major) it was who destroyed the brig on the island. The artillery which was stationed on the shore, when the Detroit was abandoned by the crew, was served with skill and dexterity. The loss of the enemy, by the deserters' report, was about seventy.

The United States sloop of war Wasp, having returned from France and refitted, put to sea again from the Delaware, on the 13th of October, on a cruise. On the 17th she discovered five sail steering eastward, and as several of them had the appearance of ships of war, she was placed in such a situation that she might escape from, or assail them, as circumstances might require. Keeping in the course she had descried them, on the following morning at daylight, they were seen ahead, and on being made out to be a convoy of six sail, under convoy of a sloop of war, the Wasp gave them immediate chase. The convoy, under a heavy press of sail, all made their escape and left the sloop of war to contend with the Wasp, though four of them were heavy ships, and mounted sixteen and eighteen guns. The weather was extremely boisterous, and the sea so rough, that the Wasp's guns had been already several times under water, she nevertheless, prepared for action, and at thirty-two minutes past eleven came down to windward in handsome style, on the larboard side of the sloop of war, and hailed her within about sixty yards. She was the

the British sloop of war Frolic, Captain Whinyeates, of twenty-two guns, and at this moment showed Spanish colours, but upon being hailed, she immediately hauled them down, hoisted the English ensign, and commenced a fire of cannon and musketry.* The action becoming close, the Wasp received a shot which took away her main-topmast, threw it over the fore and fore-mainsail braces, and made her head yards unmanageable during the remainder of the action. She was soon after wounded in her gaff and mizzen-topgallant-sail, but kept up, notwithstanding, a close and galling fire as her side was going down with the swell of the sea, and every shot consequently struck the Frolic's hull. The English, as they almost invariably do, fired as their ship was rising, and therefore, either missed their aim, or struck only the rigging of the Wasp. The Wasp shot ahead, gave a well-directed broadside, took station on the larboard bow of the Frolic, and gradually neared her, until she lay her on board, although while loading another, and the last broadside, the rammers of the guns struck the side of the enemy's vessel. The Frolic had long before slackened her fire, and her jibboom having now entered between the main and mizzen rigging of the Wasp, two of the latter's guns were brought through her bow ports and swept her whole deck. The borders were immediately called, and such

* The following is an extract from Captain Jones's official account of the battle:

"The courage and exertions of the officers and crew fully answered my expectations and wishes. Lieutenant Biddle's active conduct contributed much to our success, by the exact attention paid to every department during the engagement, and the animating example he afforded the crew by his intrepidity. Lieutenants Rodgers, Booth, and Mr. Rapp, showed, by the incessant fire from their divisions, that they were not to be surpassed in resolution or skill. Mr. Knight and every other officer acted with a courage and promptitude highly honourable, and I trust have given assurance that they may be relied on whenever their services may be required.

"I could not ascertain the exact loss of the enemy, as many of the dead lay buried under the masts and spars that had fallen upon deck, which two hours' exertion had not sufficiently removed. Mr. Biddle, who had charge of the Frolic, states that from what he saw and from information from the officers, the number of killed must have been about thirty, and that of the wounded about forty or fifty—of the killed is her first lieutenant and sailingmaster; of the wounded, Captain Whinyeates and the second lieutenant.

"We had five killed and five wounded as per list; the wounded are recovering. Lieutenant Claxton, who was confined by sickness, left his bed a little previous to the engagement, and though too weak to be at his division, remained on deck and showed by his composed manner of noting incidents, that we had lost, by his illness, the services of a brave officer."

was the anxiety of every man to be the first upon her deck, that several of them were pulled down upon their own ship from the bowsprit of the Frolic. Lieutenant Biddle, who was a supernumerary officer of the Wasp, had mounted the hammock cloth to board, but his feet getting entangled in the rigging of the Frolic's bowsprit, Midshipman J. C. Baker, in his enthusiastic ardour, caught the lieutenant by the coat, drew him back upon the Wasp's deck, and was himself the first officer on that of the enemy. Lieutenant Biddle, however, immediately sprang up, ascended the Frolic's bowsprit, and upon getting on her deck found not a single man alive, except a seaman at the wheel and three officers, who threw down their swords and yielded. The Frolic's colours were still flying, and Lieutenant Biddle jumping into the rigging, pulled down the English ensign himself. Her birth-deck was crowded with dead and wounded, and her main-deck slippery with blood; her loss could not be accurately ascertained, as many of the dead had been swept into the sea by the falling of her rigging, and others were buried under the spars which had fallen on the deck; but by the declaration of her own officers it could not be less than thirty killed and about fifty wounded. The Wasp lost five killed and five wounded. Lieutenant Biddle was put on board the Frolic with a prize crew, with orders to make a southern port, but the approach of a British ship of the line, the Poictiers, Sir J. P. Beresford, of seventy-four guns, made it necessary for both ships to make sail for the most convenient port. The Frolic was so much damaged, and the Wasp so disabled in her rigging, that the enemy closed upon them fast, fired a shot over and passed the Frolic, pursued the Wasp, and made capture of both, and ordered them to Bermuda.

Thus terminated a spirited and brilliant contest of forty-three minutes, in the capture of an enemy's vessel, four guns superior at least to her antagonist. The conduct of the American officers and seamen showed that they were not to be surpassed in promptitude or courage; to that of Lieutenant Biddle, and Lieutenant Rodgers, first of the ship, and every other commissioned and warrant officer on board, Captain Jones has given official testimony.

A seaman, of the name of Jack Lang, gave a very extraordinary

instance of bravery and eccentricity, by mounting the enemy's bowsprit before any of his brother sailors had attempted to do so, though called back by his commander, and by the jocose manner in which he descended from it to the deck of the Frolic, with many humorous expressions peculiar to his profession. Lieutenants Booth and Mr. Rapp, and Midshipmen Gaunt and Baker, the latter of whom died in Bermuda, behaved with great personal bravery. Lieutenant Claxton, who was confined by sickness, left his bed, went upon deck, and noted the incidents of the engagement with great composure.

When Captain Jones returned from Bermuda he received from his countrymen as many flattering testimonials of their approbation as they had previously given to Captain Hull. The legislatures of Massachusetts, New York, and Delaware, of which latter state he was a native, presented him with their thanks, and several elegant swords and pieces of plate. The order of Cincinnati admitted him into the society as an honorary member, as they had Captain Hull; and the Congress of the United States voted him, his officers, and crew, twenty-five thousand dollars, in consideration of the loss they met with by not being able to bring in the Frolic.

The next naval action took place on the 25th of October, and terminated in the victory of the United States frigate United States, over the British frigate Macedonian, the command of which, upon her being brought into port, refitted and taken into the service, was given to Lieutenant-Commandant Jones, who, as a further testimony of the high opinion which the executive entertained of his gallant conduct in the capture of the Frolic, was now promoted to the rank of post-captain. The events of that engagement, in the order of succession, should have been recorded in the present chapter. They will be found, however, in another naval section of the work.

Though the enemy gained no advantages over our forces on the ocean which could counter-balance the disasters he sustained by these successive triumphs of the American arms, his superior class of ships made capture of several of our smaller vessels of war. The squadron which had pursued the Constitution on the 18th of July, captured a day or two after, the United States schooner Nautilus, of twelve guns, commanded by Lieutenant

Commandant Crane; and on the 22d November, the United States schooner Vixen, Lieutenant-Commandant George Wash ington Reed, of the same number of guns, was captured, after a chase of nine hours and a half, by the British frigate Southampton, Sir James Lucas Yeo. Though the Vixen was commanded by a skilful and scientific seaman, and manned by as gallant a crew as any other American vessel, every effort to escape was found to be fruitless, and she was at length surrendered to a ship as much her superior in sailing as in force. She had not long been captive to the enemy before both vessels ran ashore and were immediately wrecked. The frigates' crew became mutinous from intoxication, and the property which was saved from both wrecks was retrieved by the generous and indefatigable exertions of the American sailors. Captain Reed, himself, was as actually engaged in the direction and encouragement of the men, as any of the British officers, and he received the public acknowledgments of Sir James, accompanied by an offer of his parole to return home. But such were the noble sentiments by which he was ever actuated, that he would not leave his officers and men, and preferring to remain with them in an unhealthy climate, to which they were taken, he became a victim to an obstinate fever, brought on by the anxieties and fatigues to which, by his unpleasant situation, and his unremitting attention to the comforts of his men, he was necessarily exposed. His interment was attended by the British officers, and a detachment from the garrison, and his funeral obsequies were accompanied by those honours due to his rank which are seldom withheld from a brave enemy.

A splendid triumph seldom fails to excite the general joy, and to call forth the universal admiration of the people. The rapid succession in which the naval conquests followed each other—the superiority of seamanship and gunnery which was exhibited in each, and the fact being now well ascertained that the inexperienced crews of the American navy could not only sustain a conflict with, but might actually capture the veteran seamen of the enemy, whenever chance should bring them together, upon equal terms; the attention of Congress was turned to the marine establishment, and the majority of the nation were desirous that measures should be immediately adopted for its enlargement.

In the naval part of the war, the national ships were actively assisted by privateers. Twenty-six of these vessels, carrying two hundred and twelve guns, and two thousand two hundred and thirty-nine men, were fitted out from New York, and seventeen vessels, carrying one hundred and forty-three guns, and one thousand five hundred and thirty-eight men, from Baltimore. in 1812. The other seaports contributed proportionally to this force, by which the commerce of the enemy suffered very severely. Our space will permit but a slight notice of their operations.

The Nonsuch privateer of Baltimore, Captain Levely, carrying twelve twelve-pound carronades, and (at that time) between eighty and ninety men, on the 28th of September, 1812, fell in with a ship and schooner under British colours, the ship carrying sixteen eighteen and twenty-four-pound carronades, and two hundred men, including soldiers; and the schooner six four-pounders, and sixty men. "When within reach of the ship," says the logbook of the Nonsuch, "she gave us a broadside. Bore down upon her, and hoisted American colours, and returned ten broadsides, accompanied each time with a heavy volley of musketry; the ship and schooner keeping up a heavy fire upon us with their great guns and musketry. The engagement lasted three hours and twenty minutes, when the bolts and breachings of our guns, fore and aft, were carried away, on both sides. We could then only fire our musketry, or should have certainly captured them both. Dismounted several of the ship's guns, and damaged her very much in her hull and rigging. From the confusion which appeared on board, we judge that we must have killed a number of men. She bore away for Martinico. We being much crippled in our rigging, could not pursue her. Our crew all fought like true Americans."

The only other action which we shall notice, is thus described by a resident at Laguira, who saw it.

"On the 9th of December, the private armed schooner Saratoga, commanded by Captain Charles W. Wooster, made her appearance off Laguira. The same day the first lieutenant went on shore, and reported that they were twenty-four days from New York, and had seen nothing. On the 10th, Captain

Wooster ran down and anchored in the Roads, but in a few minutes was advised in a note from the American consul, to weigh and keep out of the reach of the batteries, as the commandant had said he would sink her if she came to. He immediately complied with this advice, and stood off. He soon discovered a schooner standing down the coast, and some miles to windward of Laguira. He boarded and captured her. She was laden with dry goods to the amount of twenty thousand dollars. The next day, at nine A. M., after the fog cleared off, the Saratoga was some miles to leeward of Laguira, in shore of a brig, but neither near enough to fetch in. At eleven A. M., the brig tacked off shore, and soon after the schooner did the same. It was known on shore that the brig was well armed and manned, and it was generally believed she would take the Saratoga, or at all events beat her off. The inhabitants all left off their business, from the commandant to the beggar, to see the engagement. The brig being so far from the schooner, it was some time before she came up with her. They being so far off, the spectators on shore could but just discover them from the house-tops; and just as they had given up all hope of seeing the battle, they discovered them both tacking to shore again. They continued standing in until within two leagues of the town, when the Saratoga commenced the action from her starboard bow guns, which was returned from the brig's larboard quarter. The action now became furious, so that both vessels were hid in columns of fire and smoke; but in a few minutes the firing ceased. When the smoke cleared off, no other colours were flying except the American, on board the Saratoga, which was victorious. On the 13th, the second mate and twenty-five seamen arrived at Laguira, in the brig's long-boat, which Captain Wooster had given them, together with every article belonging to them. The second mate was the only officer that was alive after the action, there being great slaughter on board the brig. On board the Saratoga they had but one man slightly wounded. The brig was the Rachel, from Greenock, mounting twelve long nine-pounders, and carrying sixty men. She had on board a cargo of dry goods, &c., invoiced at fifteen thousand pounds sterling."



CHAPTER III.

Hostilities of the Creek Indians.



INTELLIGENCE of the recent misfortune of the north-western army, of the assault upon the troops from Fort Chicago, and of the advantages which were consequently expected to follow those events having been communicated by early despatches from the tribes on the northern to those of the Creek nation on the southern frontiers; fears were entertained that the result of a council of the chiefs of that nation, which was to be held on the 22d of October, would be unfavourable to the interests of that department of the Union, and that a coalition would be formed between the Indians of the two extremities, which might require all the energies of the government to suppress. To this council

of the Creeks, their neighbours, the Choctaws, the Chickasaws, and the Cherokees were invited, and if the deliberations of such a convention should be influenced by the elation evidently produced by the late successes of their northern red brethren, the whole frontier from Tennessee to the bay of Mobile, and all the settlements between Georgia and the Mississippi, and Tennessee and Florida, would be subject to their depredations. The Seminoles, a tribe attached to the Creek nation, were already at war with the white people on the borders of East Florida, and had murdered several citizens on the Georgia side of the St. Mary's. The same hatchet which is raised by one of a chain of tribes, linked together by common or confederated interests, is generally grasped by all. The Creeks were not dilatory in following an example which they at first pretended to restrain, and their outrages surpassed those of any of the northern nations.

The British, availing themselves of one of the best harbours in the Gulf of Mexico, sent several of their vessels loaded with the implements of war to Pensacola. The commandant at St. Marks, a small Spanish settlement between East and West Florida, informed the chiefs that the English would soon be there with guns, knives, hatchets, and ammunition for the red people, whom they considered to be their friends. These were put into the hands of the Indians, and they commenced their hostilities against all the defenseless inhabitants of Tennessee and Georgia. The presence of an army became now necessary in the south, and the states there were authorized to call forth as many of the militia, as, in conjunction with the regulars, might be thought competent to quell the associated tribes. The Indians of the Creek nation are not subject to any kind of restraint in war, they will neither give nor receive quarters, and pursue no other mode but that which leads to entire extermination. The force necessary to combat such an enemy must, therefore be extensive, and the executives of the different states made every exertion to arm and equip the whole quota of the militia.

The Seminoles had been committing depredations of the most daring nature, before they had any intelligence from their northern friends; and uniting to their forces a number of negroes whom they had captured at Florida, they made frequent incursions into

the state of Georgia, murdered many inhabitants, and carried off much valuable plunder. On the night of the 11th of September, about twenty American troops, principally marines, under command of Captain Williams of that corps, were marching with two wagons towards Davis' creek. When within ten miles of their destination they were attacked by a party of Indians and negroes of about fifty in number, with whom they contended until every cartridge was expended. Captain Williams, in the course of that time, received eight wounds, and was carried off by two of his men, leaving Captain Fort, of the volunteers, to command his troops, and to keep up the contest; but he being also wounded, and finding the strength of the party to be diminishing, retired in the best manner he could, and left the Indians in possession of the wagons and teams. The night was excessively dark, and several of the men, who were wounded, had concealed themselves in the bushes. On the following morning a detachment was sent from a block-house a few miles off, to which some of the men had escaped, to examine the ground. They found Captain Williams, with his right leg and left arm broken, his left leg shot through with one, and his right arm with three balls, and a wound through the lower part of his body. One man was killed and scalped, and the whole number of wounded was six. The Indians destroyed one wagon, but took the other to carry off their dead and wounded—of whom the number was much greater than that of the marines. Captain Williams languished for three or four days, and expired at Davis' creek. He was a brave young man, and noted for his sedulous attention to the duties of his station.

On the 24th of the same month, Colonel Newnan, of the Georgia volunteers, left Picollata with about one hundred and seventeen men for the Lotchway towns. On his third day's march, when within seven miles of the first of those towns, he was met by a body of about one hundred and fifty Indians, all of whom were mounted. This meeting was very unexpected to the Indians, but they immediately dismounted, formed a line of battle, and marched a few paces in advance. This movement was intended to intimidate the Georgians, but Colonel Newnan gave orders for the charge, and determined to put an end to the encoun ter by entirely subduing the Indians or putting them to flight

The battle-ground was situated midst a number of swamps, which bounded three of its sides. The Indians remained firm until the Georgians had advanced within fifty paces of their line, when they fled to these swamps for safety. The whole of the musketry being fired at them with precision, made great execution, and among others, killed their leader, King Paine. His tribe, on hearing of his fall, were resolved on rescuing his body from the enemy, and returned to the action for that purpose. Several charges were now made, and the Indians were constantly driven back, until at length they determined on one desperate effort, and recovering all their strength and spirits, they made a push against the Georgians, which, though it was received with firmness, could not be resisted with much vigour. The Indians obtained the body of King Paine, gave up the conflict, which had now lasted upwards of four hours, and carried off their killed and wounded, supposed to be between twenty and thirty.

Before night of the same day, the Indians were reinforced from their towns by other Indians and negroes, and renewed and kept up the action, with the greatest obstinacy, until they began to think the volunteers invincible, and again fled. Their force in the second attack was upwards of two hundred, but they were repulsed with nearly the same loss as in the first; whilst the volunteers loss in both, was one killed and nine wounded.

Colonel Newnan's situation was becoming extremely hazardous; the enemy's numbers were hourly increasing, and they began to surround him on all sides: he therefore threw up a small breastwork, from which he was determined to defend himself until his troops should be reinforced also. He had already despatched expresses to procure additional numbers. His wounded men rendered him unable to retreat or to advance; and he repelled every assault which was made upon this little work until the 4th day of October. The Indians were continually harassing him, day and night; and finding they could make no impression on his fortification, they glutted their insatiable vengeance by shooting all his horses. On the 4th, a perfect silence prevailed in Colonel Newnan's camp, and the Indians suspected from that, and the circumstance that their fire had not been returned the day preceding, that he had deserted it in the night. Under this assur-

ance they approached the works, without any thought of opposition until they were within forty paces of them, when the Georgian troops suddenly showed themselves, compelled the Indians to retreat with precipitation, and after several rapid discharges of musketry, killed and wounded about thirty warriors more. They then decamped, without being molested, and were stationed about ten miles off, on the Picolatta road, where they were obliged to await the arrival of fresh horses and provisions. Colonel Newnan's account of this affair bestows a high degree of credit upon every volunteer of his detachment; and their intrepid conduct, as well as his judicious arrangements, served to give a check to the combined red and black warriors, which promised security to the neighbourhood, at least, until larger forces should be organized. Besides the loss of King Paine, the Indians had three of the principal chiefs and their young governor slain; and Bow-legs, their second in command, severely wounded.





General Harrison.

CHAPTER IV.

Operations of Taylor and Winchester on the North-western Frontier.



IMMEDIATELY after the surrender of the garrisons at Michilimackinac, Chicago, and Detroit, measures were adopted for the organization and equipment of a new army. An offer had been made to receive volunteers into the service from the states and territories in the neighbourhood of Michigan, and they came forward with an alacrity which made it unnecessary to hold out allurements. The recovery of the surrendered territory, and the re-establishment of its former civil government, were the strong motives which induced all the brave and patriotic men in its vicinity to take up arms and march against the invaders. The inhabitants of that territory were now governed by an authority too rigorous to be compatible with those notions of liberty inspired by the genius of their own constitution, and they were awaiting the expected succour from their friends with the deepest anxiety.

The new army was in readiness almost instantly, the different corps concentrated with unprecedented celerity, and by the early part of September their disposition was completed. Two thou-

sand Pennsylvania volunteers, under Brigadier-General Crooks, left Pittsburg for the shores of Lake Erie; General Tupper's brigade of Ohio volunteers was to retrace the road which had been formed by the first army, from Urbanna to the Rapids; and a brigade of Virginians, when they should arrive, under General Leftwhich, was to pursue the same route. General Payne's brigade of Kentucky volunteers, the first of the present army which was in readiness, and the 17th United States regiment, under Colonel Wells, were to proceed to Fort Wayne, and descend to the Rapids of the Miami of the lakes, which place was assigned for the general rendezvous.

The command of the second north-western army was given, by the unanimous wishes of the troops composing it, to General William H. Harrison; the immediate command of the Kentucky troops under General Payne, devolved on him, by his being brevetted a major-general by the governor of that state.

Forts Harrison and Wayne were at this time garrisoned only by a few regulars and volunteers; numerous British and Indian forces had already marched from Malden to lay waste the Ohio frontier, and the latter post would naturally be their leading point. General Harrison, therefore, immediately marched to its relief with Payne's brigade and the regulars.

The former post (Fort Harrison) was invested on the 3d of September by the Prophet's party from the Wabash. On the night of the 4th they set fire to one of the block-houses, containing the contractor's property, and followed up that act by a resolute attack upon the fort. The garrison was commanded by Captain Zachary Taylor, of the 7th United States infantry, and consisted of only eighteen effective men. The flames were raging—the Indians, about three hundred in number, were howling in their usual horrid manner, and the women and children of the garracks were crying for protection which they did not expect to receive. When the block-house should be entirely consumed, a large entrance would be open to the enemy; no efforts had yet succeeded to extinguish the fire; its ascendency baffled every attempt—and the men themselves began to despond. Two of the stoutest jumped over the pickets, with a hope of escaping in the dark; but one of them was cut to pieces and scalped, and the

other returned with his arm broken, and implored to be re-admitted into the fort. Under these discouraging circumstances, Captain Taylor never suffered his presence of mind to forsake him and applying the only resource now left him, he ordered a small party to dislodge the roof of the house, so that it might fall in the space, whilst a few men in another house were to keep up a continual fire upon the Indians. His plan succeeded—the men became confident in their exertions, and a breastwork was formed under a heavy shower of bullets, along the cavity which the destruction of the block-house produced. A desperate defense was now made, and a constant and rapid fire kept up until six o'clock in the morning of the 5th. Several furious assaults had been repulsed, and the Indians, at the approach of day, judging the number of the garrison to be greater than it actually was, retired with a quantity of captured cattle, after having shot all the horses belonging to the fort. Doctor Clarke was the most indefatigable man in the engagement, and Captain Taylor's good conduct was so highly applauded, that the president soon after promoted him to a majority. Two men only were killed, with the exception of the deserter, and one wounded. The Indians always carry off their dead, unless their numbers are too small, and their loss is seldom without great difficulty ascertained. All the provisions were consumed by the fire, and the garrison compelled to subsist on green corn until reinforcements should come on with supplies The little band, which was now reduced to fourteen men, repaired the damages sustained by the fort, and constructed a strong fortification across the space. The bastions were all put in the best state of defense, and every precaution adopted to sustain a second assault. To the great joy of the garrison, however, Colonel William Russell arrived about the 16th, from Illinois, with six hundred mounted rangers and five hundred infantry, and Fort Harrison became sufficiently manned to resist the attack of a much larger body of the Prophet's warriors.

The situation of Fort Wayne was now more critical than that of any other fortress in the west. The Indians, who had proceeded from the battle-ground of Chicago, were afterwards reinforced by those from Malden, and they laid siege to this fortress in very large numbers. The troops in garrison amounted to



Defense of Fort Harrison.

seventy. On the night of the 5th of September the Indians commenced an attack, they fired principally upon the sentinels, but did no injury. On the 6th, several of the men went out of the south gate of the fort, but had not proceeded more than seventy paces when two of them were killed, and by the exertions of their companions their bodies were carried into the fort, to protect them against savage indignities. During the night another attack was made by the whole force of the Indians, and when they approached the fort, it was confidently expected that they would scale the works, but the incessant fire of the garrison compelled them to abandon their designs. What they could not do by force they then attempted by stratagem. Resort was had to all kinds of artifice, and they at length brought up two wooden pieces, which they had contrived in imitation of cannon, to persuade the garrison that the British had supplied them with battering pieces to reduce the place. These were brought up, and one of their chiefs threatened to batter down the walls unless the troops would immediately capitulate, or to storm them on the following day, when they would be reinforced by seven hundred other warriors. In three days they menaced an entire massacre, but the troops in Fort Wayne, still hoping that it would be relieved by the arrival of the expected volunteers, resolved to hold out until every article of provision should be exhausted. No other attempts were made upon the fort until the 9th, when a firing was commenced and continued at intervals all day, but without doing any damage. On the succeeding day they began their war-whoop, renewed their fire, and were again unsuccessful. Not a man was killed in any of their attacks, the only wounds which they inflicted being upon those who ventured without the fort. On the evening of the 12th, General Harrison's forces reached the garrison, and the whole Indian body precipitately fled.

The depredations which they had committed about the fort were as inhuman as they were extensive. All the stock upon the neighbouring farms was destroyed; the corn, all the small grain, and every house burned; and all the horses and cattle killed The Indian agent, Stephen Johnson, was murdered, and his body treated with shocking indecency: and, indeed, the commission of no act indicative of savage vengeance was omitted. The approach

of the regulars and volunteers, prevented perhaps, the destruction of the fields at a greater distance, and secured a supply of Indian corn for the garrison. But the great augmentation of the troops made it necessary to obtain supplies of other provisions, from the towns of those tribes which had been so active in destroying what the farms might have afforded. It was now high time, too, to make the Indians feel those effects of the war which their repeated cruelties had provoked, and to convince them that the American troops were not quite so contemptible and degraded as the Indians implied them to be from the surrender of the late commander-in-chief on the same station. General Harrison, therefore, divided his forces into scouting parties, under the command of his most active officers. Several expeditions were forwarded against the Indian settlements, and some expectations entertained that they might be drawn into battle. But they did not betray the same willingness to combat these corps which they had heretofore shown to encounter others. The Kentuckians were held in great dread by most of the Indian warriors, and the expression of "*Kentucky too much,*" has not unfrequently accompanied their orders to retreat, in the form of justification. On the 14th, General Harrison despatched Colonel Wells, with his own and Colonel Scott's regiments, and two hundred mounted riflemen, with instructions to proceed up the river St. Joseph, which, with the St. Mary's, forms the Miami of the lakes, and to destroy the Pottawatomie towns at Elk Hart. Another detachment, consisting of Colonels Allen's and Lewis' regiments, and Captain Garrard's troop, under command of General Payne, but which the commander-in-chief accompanied, proceeded, on the same day, to the destruction of the Miami towns on the forks of the Wabash. The object of each expedition was accomplished without opposition, the Indians of those tribes having abandoned their villages, and the different detachments returned to the fort on the 18th.

Several Indian tribes, who constantly resisted the solicitations of the enemy to join their standard, had before this time expressed their desires of being taken into the service of the United States, arrangements having been made between General Harrison and the executive government, which authorized him to employ them, he had accepted the services of Logan, a chief of reputation as a

warrior, and was accompanied by him on his march towards Fort Wayne. On the arrival of the troops at that place, Logan went forward with about seven hundred men, raised an Indian yell, and pursued the retreating tribes. This signal was answered by them, at the distance of only one hundred and fifty yards; but the intervention of the river and several other obstacles, prevented the pursuit being attended with effect.

General Winchester, of the United States army, arrived at Fort Wayne immediately after the expedition against the Indian villages, and the command of the detachments under General Payne and Colonel Wells, was resigned to him in obedience to the orders of the war department. The volunteers, who had centred all their affections in the person of the commander of their choice, were not satisfied with this change until General Harrison reminded them of the revolutionary services of his successor, and communicated to them the instructions from the department confirming him in the command of all the troops but those which were assigned to General Winchester.

The strength of this army was continually augmenting. Volunteer associations to a greater number than it was politic to receive into the service, were formed, equipped, and ready to march against the enemy in the same day, and a selection was made from among them of such a force as was at that time required, in conjunction with the troops which had already marched, to make the army complete. But such was the patriotic impetuosity of the western people, that many of the corps who were not fortunate enough to be received, immediately provided themselves at their own expense, and insisted upon accompanying their fellow-citizens to the field.

The siege of Fort Wayne having been raised by the Indians, it now entered into the views of the two generals to march forces to the relief of the intermediate garrisons between that place and Detroit, against which an ultimate movement was to be made; the leading object of the expedition being to regain the ground which had been lost, and to retrieve the late disaster, not only by repossessing that fortress, but by the capture of Malden and all the great rallying points of the northern Indians. Through the

exertions of the indefatigable governor of Ohio,* every necessary supply was forwarded with the greatest possible despatch, and General Winchester therefore advanced to Fort Defiance, whilst General Harrison fixed his head-quarters at St. Mary's; distance from each other sixty miles. The troops destined for Defiance amounted to about two thousand. On the 22d of September, they marched cautiously in three divisions, the baggage being in the centre, and a company of spies, under Captain Ballard, protected by Garrard's troop of dragoons, about one or two miles in front. As it was necessary to guard against surprise from a watchful enemy, whose principle it is to assault his foe while sleeping, they encamped each day at three o'clock, and threw up breastworks around the tents, at the distance of about twenty paces. On the fourth day's march, Ensign Ligett of the regulars, and four of the volunteers, proposed, and were permitted to go forward and discover the strength and situation of the enemy at Defiance, which was then distant about twenty-five miles. But their enterprise, which was too hazardous for any but experienced men, entirely failed. These adventurous young men were assailed on the night of the 25th, and though they defended themselves until their strength was exhausted, were overpowered, killed, tomahawked, and scalped in the usual barbarous manner of the Indians.

On the 27th, Captain Ballard, who was reputed in that army for his courage and prudence, was ordered to go out with his company of spies, supported by forty of Garrard's dragoons, and bury the bodies of the young men, whose death was now known of in the camp. When within about two miles of the spot where they had been killed, Ballard discovered an Indian ambuscade, but as he had marched his men in two divisions, placing one on

* His excellency, Return J. Meigs, afterwards postmaster-general of the United States, whose active zeal in the service of his country was manifested by his administration of the civil affairs of the state over which he presided, before and after the commencement of hostilities. When the invasion of Ohio was threatened by General Brock after he took possession of Michigan, Governor Meigs, with incessant diligence, highly honourable to his patriotism, equipped, provided, and organized one army after another, until the safety of the state was secured, and the mass of the inhabitants of that devoted territory fled to him for protection. Several members of his own family were among the volunteers, and one of his brothers was one of the three men killed at the siege of Fort Wayne.

each side of an Indian trace, through which the enemy supposed the volunteers would advance, the ambuscade became useless, and the Indians succeeded in gaining an eminence; whilst they were forming, Captain Ballard gave them a galling fire, which they immediately returned, accompanied by a loud and terrific yell. Ballard ordered up the horse and charged upon, and put them to the route. Pursuit was given, but the enemy knew the country better than the dragoons, and escaped into the swamps and thickets with the loss of four or five wounded. No injury of consequence enough to name was sustained by the volunteers.

On the 28th, Ballard's spies were again sent forward, and discovered a fresh trail of Indians. On communicating which to the general, he ordered twenty troopers to cross the river to ascertain whether the wagons could pass, and on finding a tolerable ford, the whole army crossed about five miles above Fort Defiance, and encamped on its bank. At one hundred yards from the edge of the river, another trail was discovered, when Captain Garrard was despatched, with twenty of his troops, to proceed and ascertain by whom it was made. Three miles below General Winchester's encampment, and two miles above Defiance, the enemy were observed to be encamped in large numbers, with war poles erected and the bloody flag flying. When the army commenced its march from Fort Wayne, the troops were provided with six days rations only, but Colonel Jenning's regiment was to meet them with provisions at Fort Defiance. At a certain point on the Aux Glaize, the colonel was directed to halt and erect a block-house, which having done, he ascertained by his spies, that the British and Indians were encamped near the fort, and without reinforcements it would have been imprudent to have proceeded further. Late on the night of the 29th, he therefore forwarded an express to General Winchester, to make known his situation, forty miles above Fort Defiance; and as the troops were now nearly starving, Captain Garrard proceeded with great despatch to Colonel Jenning's regiment, to escort with his dragoons, a brigade of pack-horses with provisions for their relief, and effected a hazardous tour in thirty-six hours, though all the time drenched with incessant rain.

General Winchester, seeing that his force was far inferior to

that of the newly discovered enemy, and finding himself in their immediate vicinity, despatched expresses to General Harrison at the St. Mary's, to obtain reinforcements, and to apprize him of the situation of the left wing. Expecting the required relief in a few days, he put his encampment in a state of defense, by fortifying himself on the front and sides, and kept out reconnoitering parties, who were to communicate with him the moment the enemy should come out to attack him. On the other hand, the enemy had possession of Fort Defiance, and were repairing and enlarging its armament.





CHAPTER V.

Operations of Generals Harrison and Hopkins.

GENERAL HARRISON, on receiving General Winchester's despatch, immediately took up his march with General Tupper's mounted men, and arrived at the encampment near Defiance, when he moved forward with the whole force to attack that fort. But the British and Indians had evacuated it, as soon as they heard of his approach, and taking away the cannon with which they had increased the armament, proceeded down the Miami to the rapids. The mounted men were ordered to pursue the retreating enemy, and to destroy their encampment at that place; and General Harrison left Fort Defiance on the 5th, to join the right wing of the army, and to concentrate the whole at the appointed rendezvous, at the Miami of the Lakes. After his departure, General Winchester countermanded the order to General Tupper, and the expedition against the Indians at the rapids, was consequently frustrated.

Until the contemplated concentration could be effected, no movement could be made which would promote the ultimate object of the campaign, and the troops at Fort Defiance which

now assumed the name of Fort Winchester, remained in that garrison until the 14th of December.

In this interval, Logan, with about thirty friendly Indians, attempted to examine the movements and situation of the enemy on the Miami, where his party was discovered and dispersed. Logan and six of them returned, the remainder escaped in another direction.

On the 22d of November, he was again ordered by General Winchester, to take two Indians and go forward to make discoveries. Early in the day they were met and captured by the celebrated hostile chief, Wynemack, and a party of five Indians. Logan resorted to a stratagem, by which he persuaded Wynemack that he had come to join him, and he and his two men were therefore allowed to carry their arms and march in front. Logan having communicated to his comrades his determination to rescue himself or perish in the effort, they suddenly turned upon their enemy on the first opportunity, and each brought his man to the ground; Wynemack being among them. The remaining three fired in return, shot Logan and one of his Indians and retired. Logan exchanged the shot, notwithstanding his wound was mortal, and springing with his wounded companion upon the horses of two of those whom they had just killed, whilst his third man protected him in his retreat, he returned to Fort Winchester. On the 28th he died, with the firmness of a brave warrior, sincerely regretted by the whole garrison, who knew him to be a distinguished, and considered him a useful leader. At Franklinton, General Harrison was actively employed in forwarding ammunition, pieces of ordnance, ordnance stores, provisions, &c., and arranging depots for their reception on the road, which was designated for the right wing of the army.

On the 18th of November, he sent Lieutenant-Colonel J. B. Campbell with a detachment of six hundred men on an expedition against the Indians of the Miami tribes, residing in the Mississinewa towns. On the morning of the 17th December the detachment charged on the first of those towns, drove the Indians across the Mississinewa river, killed seven warriors, and took thirty-seven prisoners. During this contest a part of the detachment was sent to the other towns, which were immediately

evacuated by the inhabitants, and soon after destroyed by the detachment, which then returned to the ground first occupied. On the morning of the 18th, at daylight, the camp was attacked by a number of Indians, of the Miami and Delaware tribes, amounting to about three hundred. The attack commenced on the right of the line, which was occupied by Major Ball's squadron of horse, who gallantly contended against them for one hour, and sustained almost the whole conflict. The Indians then fell back, and were courageously charged by Captain Trotter at the head of his company of Kentucky dragoons.

In this charge Captain Trotter was wounded in the hand: the Indians fled with great velocity, and were pursued as far as was thought prudent. Captain Pierce, of the Zanesville troop was killed, whilst he was charging the foe. Lieutenant Waltz was shot through the arm, but being resolved on losing no share of honour, he remounted his horse, and in that act was killed by a shot through the head. He was of the Pennsylvania volunteers. Captains Markle and M'Clelland of the same corps, and Captains Garrard and Hopkins were complimented by the commanding general. Lieutenant-Colonel Simmerall, Major M'Dowell, and Captains Hite and Smith, are said to have distinguished themselves with persevering bravery; and the whole detachment exhibiting throughout a great degree of patience, fortitude, and coolness, rendered the victory more honourable to the American arms, by respecting the high and inestimable principles of humanity, and rendering them, as they ever ought to be, inseparable from bravery. The general's orders, on their departure, were to that effect, and the most rigid obedience was paid to them.

The battle being ended, and the object of the expedition completely accomplished, Colonel Campbell took up his march for Greeneville on his return, having first forwarded an express for reinforcements, Tecumseh being reported to be in the neighbourhood with five hundred warriors, and the name of Tecumseh had now become terrible. If the detachment should be intercepted an obstinate engagement must follow, and by the morning report of the 24th, three hundred and three of the men were rendered unfit for duty by being frost bitten; an attack from a superior body of Indians could not therefore be sustained with any pros-

pect of success. The detachment reached Greeneville, however, without being once molested, and the citizens received the troops with marks of admiration for their gallantry, and for the lustre which they had thrown upon the north-western army. In the destruction of the first town the American loss was one killed and one wounded. In the action of the following morning, eight killed and twenty-five wounded; the Indian loss in killed was known to be forty, the number of wounded could not be ascertained. The prisoners were brought away by the detachment. It has been thought to be unaccountable that the Indians did not attack the detachment in its retrograde movement, but this circumstance may be attributed to the loss of their prophet, who it is supposed by many, was killed in the second engagement.

Notwithstanding the season was already so far advanced, and the difficulties in marching against the enemy were every day increasing, General Harrison was too steadily determined on the recovery of Michigan, and the subjugation of Malden and the country surrounding it, to be put aside from his views by any such obstacles. Every implement was provided which might possibly be necessary, the military stores and trains of artillery were already at the different depots, and the troops from Pennsylvania being at Mansfield, those from Virginia at Delaware, and those from Ohio at Fort M'Arthur, the purposed concentration could be almost immediately effected. General Winchester with the left wing, moved from Fort Winchester to the Rapids, in conformity to the previous order of General Harrison, who was now commissioned a major-general in the army of the United States, and appointed to the command of the north-western army. A line of posts was to be established, and strong fortifications erected as intermediate places of rendezvous, at equal distances between Defiance and Detroit; and that he might with more convenience superintend the building of these, the commander-in-chief fixed his head-quarters at Upper Sandusky.

A brigade of Kentuckians had been sent into the Indiana territory, under General Samuel Hopkins, with instructions to attack every settlement on the Wabash, and then to fall upon the Illinois. On the 11th of November they marched from Fort Harrison with a view to the destruction of the Prophet's town. Seven

boats, with provisions, forage, and military stores, commanded by Colonel Barbour, accompanied the expedition, and the troops marched on the east side of the Wabash to protect them, until the 19th, when they reached the town, and were engaged three days in the destruction of it and a large Kickapoo village adjoining, while General Butler, with three hundred men, surrounded and destroyed the Winnebago town on the *Ponce-passu* creek: each of these towns had been abandoned by the Indian warriors, and a small party was sent out to reconnoiter the surrounding woods and to seek out their hiding-places. Several Indians showed themselves, fired on the party, killed one man and compelled the others to retire. This occurrence was no sooner made known to the troops than sixty horsemen offered to proceed to the ground to bury their companion and to encounter the enemy. When they attained the point, near the Indian encampment, they were fired upon from an ambuscade and eighteen of the party were killed and wounded, among them several promising young officers. The enemy had taken possession of a strong defensive position, in which there was no hope of effectually assailing him, having a deep rapid creek in its rear in the form of a semicircle, and being fronted by a high and almost perpendicular bluff of one hundred feet, which could only be penetrated by three steep ravines. The death of these gallant young men excited a spirit of revenge among the troops, and they moved forward under a heavy fall of snow, determined to attack the enemy in his stronghold at every risk. But on arriving at the place they found that the Indians had evacuated it and crossed over *Ponce-passu* on their retreat. There being now no certain point to which the operations of the troops could be directed, General Hopkins gave orders for their return to Fort Harrison, where they arrived after an absence of sixteen days, having in that time traversed one hundred miles of a country of which, to use the words of their commander, they had no cognizance.



CHAPTER VI.

Operations on the Northern Frontier in 1813.

WHILST these events were transpiring in the western department of the Union, dispositions had been made and troops collected at the different stations along the Niagara river, from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario; and beyond the latter along the shore of the St. Lawrence. Excursions from the American to the British shores of the rivers had been frequently made, and on some occasions were followed by smart skirmishes. The chief command of these forces was given to Major-General Dearborn. The immediate command of the troops on the Niagara to Major-General Van Renssellaer of the militia of the state of New York. Brigadier-General Smyth was stationed at Black Rock. The troops on the St. Lawrence were principally garrisoned at Ogdensburg, and commanded by Brigadier-General Brown, also of the New York militia.

On the 15th of September twenty-five British boats passed Madrid up the St. Lawrence, laden with military stores and munitions of war. About one hundred and forty of the militia from Ogdensburg and Hamilton, with one gun-boat, posted themselves on an island to obstruct their passage. The enemy, approaching

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Defense of Ogdensburg.

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UNDER these circumstances, and influenced by these impressions, he ordered the regulars, under Lieutenant-Colonel Fenwick and Major Mullany, to leave Fort Niagara and proceed to his head-quarters at Lewistown. The same orders were issued to General Smyth's brigade.—When the British General Brock had made arrangements for the civil government of Michigan, and had appointed such officers as he thought necessary to its administration, he transferred the command of Detroit to Colonel Proctor, and moved his own quarters to Fort George that he might facilitate the preparations on the Niagara frontier. But General Van Renssellaer received intelligence which was thought to warrant a movement into Canada, and was at the same time informed that General Brock had returned to Detroit, upon hearing of the preparations in the west for the recovery of that post, and had taken with him such troops as could with safety be spared from Fort Erie and Fort George. He therefore promised

his army that they should cross over and act against Queenstown, and it was for this purpose that the regulars were ordered from Fort Niagara and the Rock. The possession of Queenstown was important to the success of the American arms in Canada, in this or in any future campaign. It is a handsome town, below the Falls of Niagara, at the head of the navigable waters of that strait, and immediately opposite Lewistown, a place of depot for the merchandise for all the country above, and for the public stores for the line of posts along the Niagara and Detroit rivers. It has an excellent harbour and good anchorage; the banks on both sides are elevated, and the landscape is among the most splendid and sublime.

It was intended that the attack upon Queenstown should be made on the morning of the 11th at three o'clock, and the embarkation was to take place from the old ferry opposite the heights, to which situation experienced boatmen were employed to navigate the boats from the landing below. The river here is one sheet of violent eddies, and an officer who was considered to be the most skilful for such a service was sent ahead, but in the extreme darkness of the night, passed the intended point of embarkation far up the river, and very unaccountably fastened his boat, containing nearly all the oars of the other boats, to the shore and abandoned the detachment. The ardour of the officers and men was not the least abated through the night, though they were exposed to a tremendous north-east storm which prevailed for twenty-eight hours and in that time deluged the whole camp. But they were mortified by this distressing dilemma, and the appearance of daylight having extinguished every prospect of success the detachments returned to camp, and an express was sent to Black Rock to countermand the orders to General Smyth. The miscarriage of the plan had no other effect than to increase the ardour of the troops, and they impatiently awaited for the arrival of orders which would bring them into personal opposition with their enemy. Arrangements were therefore made to that effect, and the night of the 12th was designated for the operation. Two columns, one of three hundred militia, under Colonel Van Renssellaer, and another of three hundred regulars, under Lieutenant-Colonel Christie, were to pass over together. Thirteen

boats were provided for their conveyance, and when the heights should be carried, Lieutenant-Colonel Fenwick's flying artillery were to cross over, then Major Mullany's detachment of regulars, and the other troops to follow in order. Early in the night Colonel Christie marched his detachment by the rear road from Niagara to camp. At seven in the evening Lieutenant-Colonel Stranahan's regiment moved from Niagara Falls; at three o'clock Mead's regiment, and at nine, Lieutenant-Colonel Blan's regiment. Each corps was in camp in proper time. At the dawn of day the boats were in readiness, and the troops embarked early in the morning of the 13th, under cover of a commanding battery mounting two eighteen-pounders and two sixes.

Whilst these preparations were going forward, the British at Queenstown were surreptitiously apprized of the contemplated movement of the American troops, and they despatched expresses to give intelligence to General Brock, who was at that moment quartered at Fort George. The heights were lined with troops, and measures were instantly adopted to repel the debarkation. The boats had scarcely put off from the American, before they received a brisk fire of musketry from the whole line on the Canadian shore. The American batteries were immediately opened to sweep the opposite shore, and three British batteries played with great severity upon the boats.

Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, of the artillery, who had marched with uncommon expedition from Niagara Falls, arrived in time to reply to the enemy's fire with two six-pounders. The eddies in the river were violent, the shot from the enemy fell in heavy showers on the boats, and the difficulty of combating the former, and avoiding the latter, not only embarrassed the officers, but put many of the oarsmen into confusion. A grape-shot from a battery below Queenstown, which enfiladed the place of crossing, struck the boat in which was Lieutenant-Colonel Christie, wounded him in the hand, and alarmed the pilot and boatmen so, that the boat fell below the intended place of landing and was obliged to return. The boats in which Major Mullany followed the two columns fell also below the point, two of them into the hands of the enemy, and the Major returned. But Colonel Van Renssellaer, who commanded the whole detachment, and whose



Battle of Queenstown.

boats formed the van, moved to the enemy's shore, succeeded in touching it at the designated place, and effected the landing of the van, consisting of one hundred men, under a tremendous fire directed upon him from every point. In ascending the banks the colonel received four balls. Captain Armstrong, Captain Malcolm, and Captain Wool, were wounded, and Ensign Morris was killed. Lieutenant Valance was killed in crossing. A party of the British then issued from an old fort below Queenstown, but on being fired on by the Americans immediately retreated.

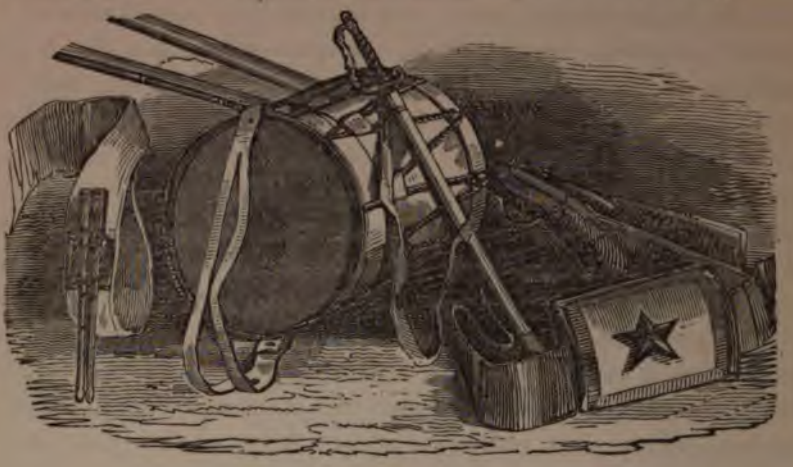
A strong battery which fired incessantly upon the van, obliged it to retire under the banks, where lay Colonel Van Renssellaer, who, though in excruciating pain, with great difficulty stood up and ordered his officers to proceed with rapidity and storm the fort, and if possible, to ascend and carry the heights. The men were instantly rallied. About sixty of the most determined, commanded by Captain Ogilvie, seconded by Captain Wool, though wounded, and Lieutenants Kearny, Carr, Hugginan and Sammons, and Ensign Reeve, of the 13th; and Lieutenants Ganscvoort and Randolph, cautiously mounted the rocks on the right of the fort, gave three cheers, assailed and reduced it after three

desperate charges in which they were met with firmness; they then carried the heights, and thus gallantly executed the whole order of the colonel, driving the enemy down the hill in every direction. A party of them retreated behind a stone guard-house, where a piece of ordnance was briskly served, but a fire from the battery at Lewistown was so effectually directed upon it, that it was in a few minutes silenced.



THE British then retreated behind a large stone-house. The American artillery-men were ordered to turn the guns of the fort upon them, but Lieutenant Gansevoort had hastily spiked the cannon and they were therefore now useless. The enemy's fire was silenced, however, with the exception of one gun, which was out of reach of the American cannon, and the boats were crossing unannoyed but by this battery. Reinforcements arrived after this brilliant success, under Captain Gibson of the light artillery, Captain M'Chesney of the 6th, and Captain Lawrence of the 13th infantry, and Colonels Mead, Stranahan, Allen, and other militia officers. At about ten o'clock the British line was reformed, and flanking parties sent out. Lieutenant-Colonel Christie succeeded in getting across the river with five hundred men and took command.

General Brock having received the expresses which were forwarded to him, arrived at this moment at the head of a reinforcement of regulars from Fort George. He had led them around the heights to the rear of the battery, when Captain Wool detached one hundred and sixty men to meet them. The detachment was driven back, but being immediately reinforced pressed forward again, and was again driven back to the brink of the precipice forming the Niagara river above Queenstown. Seeing that nothing short of a miracle could save the detachment from being beaten; finding that the party were nearly without ammunition, and supposing it useless to sacrifice the lives of brave men, one of the officers was in the act of hoisting a white flag on a bayonet when Captain Wool, knowing that if the men held out a short while longer they would be relieved by reinforcements,



CHAPTER VI.

Operations on the Northern Frontier in 1813.

WHILST these events were transpiring in the western department of the Union, dispositions had been made and troops collected at the different stations along the Niagara river, from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario; and beyond the latter along the shore of the St. Lawrence. Excursions from the American to the British shores of the rivers had been frequently made, and on some occasions were followed by smart skirmishes. The chief command of these forces was given to Major-General Dearborn. The immediate command of the troops on the Niagara to Major-General Van Renssellaer of the militia of the state of New York. Brigadier-General Smyth was stationed at Black Rock. The troops on the St. Lawrence were principally garrisoned at Ogdensburg, and commanded by Brigadier-General Brown, also of the New York militia.

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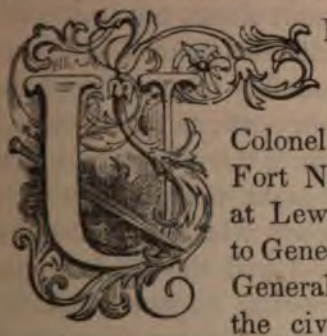
Defense of Ogdensburg.

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ing, the batteries at Fort George opened a cannonade upon Fort Niagara, which was returned and kept up with hot shot on both sides for several hours. From the south block-house of the American fort the shot was principally directed against the village of Newark, and several houses were set on fire, one or two of which were entirely consumed. This battery was commanded by Captain M'Keon, and the guns were worked with great ability. The enemy commenced throwing shells, as there were no defenses against these, Captain N. Leonard, the commandant at Fort Niagara, preferred ordering a retreat from the garrison rather than expose a handful of men to their danger. The bursting of a twelve-pounder, by which two men were killed, deprived the fort of its best battery. The retreat had scarcely been ordered, when a number of boats loaded with troops, were observed to put off from the enemy's shore, upon which Captain M'Keon returned to the fort with a guard of twenty men, remained in it during the night, and was joined next morning by the rest of the garrison. Very few were wounded, and none killed except the two men by the bursting of the gun.

Early in the following week the British batteries below Fort Erie opened a very heavy fire upon the village and fortifications of Black Rock, and kept it up at intervals during the day. There being no larger pieces than sixes at the breastworks, very few shot were returned. Several cannon-shot struck the battery, and two or three passed through the upper loft of the west barracks. The east barracks were destroyed by a bomb thrown from a twenty-four-pounder, which blew up the magazine, and burnt a quantity of the skins taken in the Caledonia. General Porter, of the New York militia, was sitting at dinner in his quarters, when one twenty-four-pound ball struck the upper loft of his house, and another entered it through the roof.

On the 22d the enemy landed at St. Regis, a village without a garrison of any kind, and from which he could move immediately upon the camp at French Mills. The tribe of Indians inhabiting the village were friendly to the United States, and as it entered into the views of the enemy to pursuade them from the service of the American government into which they might probably enter, and to flatter them into their own, Sir George Prevost, under

the authority with which he was clothed, had forwarded to this tribe, in the form of a present, a quantity of baggage, consisting of blankets, guns, specie, &c., under an escort of soldiers, and accompanied by despatches, in which he solicited their alliance. The force was variously stated from one to three hundred, and Major Young, commanding the American militia from Troy, at the Mills, determined on immediately attacking them, as it was understood they were halting there for an increase of numbers. He detached Captain Tilden to the St. Lawrence, with a view of gaining a circuitous route to one of two houses in which the British were said to be quartered, and to secure the enemy's boats which were stationed there, to prevent his retreat. Captain Lyon was detached with orders to take the road running along the bank of the river St. Regis, with directions to gain the rear of the other house, and Major Young with the remainder of the forces moved on in front. When within fifty yards of either house, he heard a firing which convinced him that Captain Lyon was engaged. One round was sufficient. The enemy surrendered, but not to the number reported to have landed, and the Americans made forty prisoners, and took one stand of colours, thirty-eight muskets, the despatches, and all the baggage. Two batteaux were taken by Captain Tilden, and the troops returned to their encampment at about eleven o'clock. The British lost four killed and one mortally wounded.

At one o'clock in the morning of the 17th November, four British barges approached the American shore, about a mile above Ogdensburg, and on being hailed by a sentinel and refusing to answer, were immediately fired upon. The report of his piece brought several riflemen to his assistance, when the barges opened a smart fire of grape-shot, without effect, and soon after retired to Prescott harbour. On their way thither they fired several shot into the town, which were returned by a six-pounder.

This affair was followed on the night of the 19th by an incursion seven miles into the British territory by Colonel Pike and a part of the 15th regiment. He assaulted and carried a post which was defended by a large body of British and Indians, burned a block house, and put the garrison to flight, and returned with the loss of five men wounded.

At six o'clock on the morning of the 21st, the British having prepared mortars, and planted a long train of battering cannon behind breastworks erected on the margin of the river, commenced a bombardment of Fort Niagara, and opened a cannonade from the batteries at and in the neighbourhood of Fort George, which was kept up without a moment's cessation until sundown. They employed five detached batteries in this affair. Two of them mounting twenty-four-pounders, and one mounting a nine-pounder. The remainder were mortar batteries, from five and a half to ten and a half inches, from which were thrown great quantities of shells. These fortresses are situated nearly opposite each other, at the mouth of the Niagara river, and command the entrance from Lake Ontario. The guns of Fort Niagara may be brought to bear alternately upon Fort George and the town of Newark, whilst a salt-battery, being a dependency of Fort Niagara and mounting one eighteen and a four-pounder, is directly in a range with and calculated to do much damage to the enemy's garrison.

The American fort had received an augmentation of force immediately after the cannonade of the 13th, several corps who had marched to Lewistown, having been ordered after the battle of Queenstown, to relieve the garrison, but it was not yet supplied with a sufficient quantity of artillery and ammunition. It was now commanded by Colonel George M'Feeley. In the course of the day the enemy threw two thousand red-hot balls, and one hundred and eighty shells. The shells proved to be harmless, but the hot shot set fire to several buildings which were within and about the fort, but through the incessant vigilance of all the officers and men, but particularly of that gallant officer, Major Armistead, of the United States corps of engineers, who has on many other occasions distinguished himself, the fires were got under and extinguished, without being discovered by the enemy.

Notwithstanding the vast shower of shells and cannon balls which was falling into the fort, the garrison performed their duty with unremitting alacrity, and served their pieces with coolness and composure. Captain M'Keon commanded a twelve-pounder in the south-east block-house; Captain Jacks, of the 7th militia artillery, commanded in the north block-house, a situation most

Fort Niagara.

exposed to the enemy's fire. Lieutenant Rees, of the 3d artillery, had command of an eighteen-pounder on the south-east battery, from which several well-directed shot were made whilst the piece was pointed at the battery *en barbette*, mounting a twenty-four-pounder. Lieutenant Wendal, of the same regiment, had command of an eighteen and four-pounder on the west battery; Dr. Hooper, of the militia artillery, had command of a six-pounder on the mess-house, and Lieutenants Gansevoort and Harris, of the 1st artillery, had command of the salt-battery. Thus disposed they returned the fire of the enemy with vigour and effect. They directed several of the pieces at the town of Newark, and repeatedly fired it with hot shot. The buildings within Fort George were also fired, and at one time one of the batteries was silenced. A part of the parapet falling on Lieutenant Rees, his left shoulder was so severely bruised that it became necessary for him to quit his station, and Captain Leonard, happening at that moment to arrive at the fort, took command of Lieutenant Rees's battery for the remainder of the day.

The continuation of the bombardment increased the animation of the men, and they fought with undiminished cheerfulness until the cannonading ceased. Colonel M'Feely spoke of all the garrison in very strong terms, and of Lieutenant-Colonel Gray, Major Armistead, and Captain Mulligan particularly. During the bombardment a twelve-pounder bursted and killed two men. Two others were killed by the enemy's fire, and Lieutenant Thomas and four men were wounded. From the salt-battery the enemy was very much annoyed. A few shot from the four-pounder there sunk a schooner which lay at the opposite wharf, and such was the spirited earnestness of both officers and men at this battery, that when in the most tremendous of the bombardment they had fired away all their cartridges, they cut up their flannel waistcoats and shirts, and the soldiers their trousers to supply their guns.

An instance of extraordinary bravery took place in the garrison in the hottest of the cannonade, and for deliberate coolness and courageous fortitude, was surpassed neither by Joan, maid of Orleans, nor the heroine of Saragosa.—Doyle, a private in the United States artillery, who had been stationed in the fort, was

made prisoner in the battle of Queenstown. His wife remained in the garrison, and being there on the 21st, she determined to resent the refusal of the British to parole her husband, by proffering her services, and doing his duty against the enemy whenever the works should be assailed; and she, accordingly, attended the six-pounder on the mess-house with hot shot, (regardless of the shells which were falling around her,) and never quitted her station until the last gun had been discharged.

General Van Renssellaer having resigned his command on the Niagara, General Smyth now contemplated a more effectual invasion of Canada than that which had so recently failed. From a description of the river below the falls, the view of the shore below Fort Erie, and from information which he had received of the enemy's preparations, General Smyth was of opinion that the landing should be effected between Fort Erie and Chippewa. This opinion he had delivered to General Van Renssellaer before the battle of Queenstown, and being in command, he was resolved that it should now be acted upon. The troops stationed at Black Rock and Buffalo were equally desirous of engaging the enemy, and the general promised them conquest and renown. In order that he might visit the Canadian shore with a force competent to retain the posts which might be captured, he desired to increase his numbers by such an accession of volunteers, as would be willing to perform one month's service in the army, to submit to the rigid discipline of a camp, and to encounter the enemy on his own soil. He immediately communicated his intentions by a proclamation, issued on the 10th of November, circulated in the counties of Seneca and Ontario, and inviting persons thus disposed to place themselves under his authority.

This proclamation produced the intended effect. It held forth great allurements, and appealed to the patriotism of the American citizens. Under this proclamation numbers of volunteers came forward with the expected alacrity, and on the 27th of November the force collected at the station amounted to four thousand and five hundred men, including the regular troops, and the Baltimore, Pennsylvania, and New York volunteers, the latter being placed under the command of General Peter B. Porter, of the militia. On the following morning at reveille, the whole force was to em-



General Porter.

bark from the navy-yard at Black Rock and to proceed on the contemplated expedition.

No possible preparation was omitted. At the navy-yard there were lying for the purpose of transporting the troops across the river, seventy public boats calculated to carry forty men each, five large private boats, which were taken into the public service calculated to carry one hundred men each, and ten scows for the artillery to carry twenty-five each, which, together with a number of small boats which were also provided, were to transport the whole of this army. After informing the citizens that for many years they had seen their country oppressed with numerous wrongs; their government, though above all others devoted to peace, had been forced to draw the sword and rely for redress of injuries on the valour of the American people, and that that valour had in every instance been conspicuous; his proclamation continued in the following words: "But the nation has been fortunate in the election of some of those who have dire

One army has been disgracefully surrendered and lost. Another has been sacrificed by a precipitate attempt to pass over at the strongest point of the enemy's lines with most incompetent means. The cause of these miscarriages is apparent. The commanders were popular men, 'destitute alike of theory and experience' in the art of war. In a few days the troops under my command will plant the American standard in Canada. They are men accustomed to obedience, silence, and steadiness. They will conquer, or they will die. Will you stand with your arms folded and look on this interesting struggle? Are you not related to the men who fought at Bennington and Saratoga? Has the race degenerated? Or have you, under the baneful influence of contending passions, forgot your country? Must I turn from you and ask the men of the Six Nations to support the government of the United States? Shall I imitate the officers of the British king, and suffer our ungathered laurels to be tarnished by ruthless deeds?* Shame, where is thy blush? No. Where I command, the vanquished and the peaceful man, the maid and the matron, shall be secure from wrong If we conquer, 'we will conquer but to save'

"*Men of New York,*

"The present is the hour of renown. Have you not a wish for fame? Would you not choose in future times to be named as one, who, imitating the heroes whom Montgomery led, have, in spite of the season, visited the tomb of the chief, and conquered the country where he lies? Yes, you desire your share of fame. Then seize the present moment. If you do not, you will regret it: and say, 'the valiant bled in vain—the friends of my country fell—and I was not there!' advance then to our aid. I will wait for you a few days. I cannot give you the day of my departure. But come on. Come in companies, half companies, or singly. I will organize you for a short tour. Ride to this place if the distance is far, and send back your horses. But remember, that every man who accompanies us places himself under my command, and shall submit to the salutary restraints of discipline."

* It was about this time understood that a number of friendly Indians proposed to be taken into General Smyth's army, but that he explicitly refused to let them accompany him into Canada.

ACCOMPANYING a second proclamation of General Smyth, of the 17th of November, in which was recapitulated most of the appeal of the former, and in which he set forth that "disloyal and traitorous men had endeavoured to persuade the people from doing their duty," was an address from General Porter to the people of Ontario and Genessee, in which he informed them that General Smyth had a powerful army at Buffalo, under strict discipline, in high spirits, and eager for the contest. That with this army he would in a few days occupy all the British fortresses on the Niagara. That as humanity suggested that this conquest should be achieved with the least possible sacrifice, General Smyth had asked their aid and co-operation for the purpose of obtaining a force that would overawe opposition and save the effusion of blood. That he intended himself to accompany the expedition; that a vigorous campaign of one month would relieve their fellow-citizens of the frontier from their sufferings, drive off the savage knife, restore peace to the whole of that section of the country, and redeem the tarnished reputation of the nation.

A large number of troops were now assembled at and near Buffalo, where they were drilled, equipped, and organized for the intended invasion. Ten boats were appointed to precede the main body, to effect a landing, and to storm and carry the enemy's batteries. A number of sailors were engaged to navigate the boats, under command of Lieutenant-Commandant Samuel Angus of the navy, assisted by Lieutenant Dudley, Sailing-Master Watts, who had distinguished himself in cutting out the Caledonia, and several other naval officers. At three o'clock in the morning of the 28th, these boats put off from the American shore, but they had not proceeded one-fourth of the way across when the British batteries opened a galling fire, and five of them were obliged to return. In one of these was Colonel Winder of the 14th infantry, who commanded the troops to whom this hazardous duty was assigned. The command of the 14th devolved therefore upon Lieutenant-Colonel Boerstler, who was in one of the advance boats with several resolute infantry officers. A se-

vere fire of musketry and grape-shot from two pieces of flying artillery was poured upon this part of the squadron, but they effected their landing in good order, formed on the shore, and advanced to the accomplishment of their object.

Lieutenant-Commandant Angus and his officers, assisted by Samuel Swartwout, Esq., of New York, an enterprising citizen who happened to be at the station, acted as volunteers after the landing of the troops, and joining their little band of sailors to the regulars under Captain King of the 15th, they stormed the enemy's principal batteries and drove him to the Red-house, where he rallied with two hundred and fifty men and commenced a rapid fire of musketry upon the assailants. Sixty regulars and fifty sailors composed the whole American force. The success at the battery, the guns of which were spiked, was followed up by a desperate assault on the Red-house. The sailors charged with boarding-pikes and cutlasses, the regulars with the bayonet, and after a hard and destructive engagement they routed the enemy, fired the house in which he quartered, and made about fifty prisoners. Lieutenant-Colonel Boerstler attacked and dispersed the enemy lower down the river, and took also several prisoners. Every battery between Chippewa and Fort Erie was now carried, the cannon spiked or destroyed, and sixteen miles of the Canadian frontier laid waste and deserted. The boats returned with the wounded and the prisoners, leaving Captain King and twelve men, who were so anxious to complete the destruction of every breastwork and barrack of the enemy that they resolved on remaining in possession of the conquered ground until the main body of the army should cross over the strait and march to the assault of the British forts. Sailing-Master Watts fell at the head of his division of the sailors, while he was gallantly leading them on. Midshipman Graham received a severe wound, which caused the amputation of a leg. Seven out of twelve of the navy officers were wounded. Captain Morgan of the 12th, Captain Sprowl and Captain Dix of the 13th, and Lieutenant Lisson, the two latter of whom were badly wounded, took a very distinguished part in the engagement.

At daybreak the batteries on the American side were opened; they were ready to cover the embarkation of the main army, and

most of the troops had arrived at the designated place. Three hundred and forty volunteers, who had rallied under General Smyth's proclamation, well armed and provided, were marched by General Porter to the navy-yard. One hundred and fifty others were drawing arms at Buffalo, and had orders to follow immediately. Colonel Winder, being under an apprehension that Lieutenant-Colonel Boerstler and his men were in danger, made an unsuccessful attempt to land two hundred and fifty men at a difficult point down the river, his own being the only boat which touched the shore. When the squadron returned from their successful enterprise, he put back and formed his regiment to join in the general embarkation. At sunrise the troops began to embark, but such was their tardiness, that at twelve o'clock the whole body, with Colonel Swift's volunteer regiment, were not yet in the boats. A considerable number of barges had been thrown upon the shores of the river and Conejockeda creek, by the high tide of the preceding day, others were filled with ice and water, and those which had been employed by Colonel Winder were lying about one mile below. To collect and put these in order for the reception of the troops required a delay of several hours more, and it was not until two o'clock that all the troops intended to be sent over at the first crossing, were collected in a group of boats at Black Rock, under cover of the batteries; where General Porter, having brought up the five boats which were below, joined and took his station among them. The number now embarked, according to the estimate of General Porter, were about two thousand, who were anxiously awaiting the order to proceed. General Tannehill's volunteers, Colonel F. M'Clure's regiment, and some riflemen and cavalry, in all about two thousand more, were still paraded on the shore, and were to constitute the second embarkation. In the mean time, Captain King and his twelve men, who were yet in the enemy's territory dismounting his pieces, were made prisoners, and about five hundred British troops had been drawn up in line, about half a mile from the river, sounding their trumpets and bugles, and indicating their readiness to receive the Americans. Late in the afternoon General Smyth ordered the troops to disembark, and silenced their murmurs by an assurance that the expedition was only postponed

until the boats should be put in a state of better preparation, and that they (the troops) should immediately after be put in motion. The different regiments retired to their respective quarters: General Porter marched his volunteers to Buffalo, but the enemy was actively employed in remounting his guns upon the batteries. On Sunday, the 29th, an order was issued from the head-quarters of the commanding-general for the march of the troops to the navy-yard, to embark on the following morning at nine o'clock. The time and manner proposed in this order were disapproved of by all the officers; and those of the highest rank addressed the general and stated their objections to the plan. The repaired state of the enemy's batteries rendered it inexpedient to cross at the point *above* the island, which covers the navy-yard; *below* that point he lay much augmented, in consequence of the gallant affair of the 28th, and occupied a line of shore of nearly a mile, from which he would have a full view of the American movement, if made by daylight. To avoid the fire of the British flying artillery and infantry, it was proposed to General Smyth that the troops should be landed five miles below the navy-yard, at an hour and a half before day on the morning of Tuesday, so that this dangerous shore might be passed in the dark; when, if the boats were discovered, the troops would suffer less from the enemy's fire. The place which was thus recommended was, of all others, peculiarly favourable to a safe and orderly landing, and the proposal was accordingly adopted, and the army were to embark at three o'clock and to land at half-past four, in the order of battle prescribed on the 28th.

On Monday evening seven boats for Colonel Swift's regiment, and eight for the new volunteers, were brought up the river and placed at different points, so that the noise and confusion of em barking the whole at one place might be avoided. At half an hour after three, these boats were occupied and took their station opposite the navy-yard. The regulars were to proceed on the right, General Tannehill's volunteers in the centre, and the New York volunteers on the left. General Porter, with a chosen set of men, was appointed to proceed in front to direct the landing, and to join the New York volunteers when on the opposite shore. On the arrival of the boats which were to compose the van, Gene-



Indignation of the Troops

ral Porter found that the artillery were embarking in the scows with as much haste as possible; but one hour elapsed before the regular infantry attempted to follow, when Colonel Winder, at the head of the 14th, entered the boats with great order and silence. Every thing seemed to promise a speedy and successful issue; the troops to be embarked were now nearly all in readiness to proceed: General Porter dropped to the front of the line with a flag to designate the leading boat, and the word only was wanted to put off. The front of the line was one-fourth of a mile from the shore, when the rear was observed to be retarded, and General Porter received orders from General Smyth to disembark immediately. He was at the same time informed that the invasion of Canada was abandoned for the season, that the regulars were ordered into winter-quarters, and that, as the services of the volunteers could now be dispensed with, they might stack their arms and return to their homes. Previously to this order an interview had taken place between General Smyth and a British major, who came over with a flag.

The scene of discontent which followed was without parallel. Four thousand men, without order or restraint, indignantly discharged their muskets in every direction. The person of the commanding general was threatened. Upwards of one thousand men, of all classes of society, had suddenly left their homes and families, and had made great sacrifices to obey the call of their country under General Smyth's invitation. He possessed their strongest confidence, and was gaining their warmest affections: he could lead to no post of danger to which they would not follow. But now, the hopes of his government, the expectations of the people, the desires of the army, were all prostrated, and he was obliged to hear the bitter reproaches and the indignant epithets of the men whom he had promised to lead to honour, to glory, to renown. The inhabitants refused to give him quarters in their houses, or to protect him from the rage of those who considered themselves the victims of his imbecility or his deceit. He was obliged constantly to shift his tent to avoid the general clamour, and to double the guard surrounding it; and he was several times fired at when he ventured without it. An application was made to him by the volunteers to permit *them* to invade the enemy's

territory under General Porter, and they pledged themselves to him to take Fort Erie if he would give them four pieces of flying artillery. This solicitation was evaded, and the volunteer troops proceeded to their homes, execrating the man whom they had respected, and the general on whose talents and whose promises they had placed the most generous reliance.

General Smyth, however, found those who gave their approbation to his measures, and who thought that he had saved his army by relinquishing the invasion of Canada. The public mind was for a long time agitated with doubts about the propriety of his conduct, in not prosecuting the campaign and breaking up the enemy's strong posts along the Niagara. Few, however, have hesitated to declare his culpability in inducing men to leave their homes for a month's incursion into the British territory, unless he intended to effect it at every hazard which they might be willing to encounter. But he has alleged that his orders from the commander-in-chief were to cross with "three thousand men at once," and that he could not ascertain the number of troops which would go over but by seeing them actually embarked, and that when they were embarked they did not amount to more than fifteen hundred and twelve men, exclusive of the staff, being but half the number with which only his instructions authorized him to assail the opposite shore. That many of the militia not only refused to go when ordered into the boats by his brigade major, but that more than half of General Tannehill's brigade had deserted. In his official letter to General Dearborn, he stated that he had called together a council of his officers, agreeably to his instructions in all important cases, and that they decided against the contemplated operations upon the ground of the insufficiency of force. That he then informed the officers that the attempt to invade Canada would not be made until the army should be reinforced, and directed them to withdraw their troops and cover them with huts immediately. That the volunteers and the neighbouring people were dissatisfied, and that it had been in the power of the contracting agent (alluding to General Porter) to excite some clamour against the course pursued, as he found the contract a losing one, and would wish to see the army in Canada that he might not be bound to supply it. That the situation of

the force under his (General Smyth's) command had not been such as to make the propriety of a forward movement obvious to all: that circumstanced as he was, he thought it his duty "to follow the cautious counsels of experience, and not precipitation, to add to the list of our defeats."

Whether General Porter's anxiety to see the army in Canada arose from so interested a motive as General Smyth has alleged, or whether he was actuated by a desire to see the campaign of 1812 closed with some brilliant achievement of the American arms, the reader will be better able to judge by remembering the indefatigable exertions which that gentleman made use of to enlarge the forces at Buffalo, by which the supplies of the army would be *increased*, and of the personal share which he was disposed to take in the most dangerous part of the enterprise

On the 2d of December the enemy again opened his batteries upon Black Rock, probably with a view to inform General Smyth that his guns were unspiked and replaced, and that he was again in a state to resist the invasion. His fire was returned from several six-pounders, one of which, under Captain J. N. Barker, was so well directed that the ball entered an embrasure, dismounted a heavy gun, and disabled the carriage.

The troops were now all quartered; barracks were erected at Batavia for the reception of the largest proportion, and no operations took place until the close of the year. The armies were distinguished by titles derived from their situations. That which was commanded by General Smyth being the Army of the Centre, and that upon the St. Lawrence and in its vicinity being the Northern Army. This latter, which consisted of an active force of five thousand seven hundred and thirty-seven men, of infantry, cavalry, field and horse artillery, and militia, had also gone into winter-quarters, and the hopes of the nation rested now only on the North-western army, which we left in the neighbourhood of the Rapids of the Miami, the head-quarters of its commander at Sandusky, making vigorous preparations for a push upon the British and Indians at Detroit, and resolved upon quartering for the winter in one of the enemy's garrisons.



CHAPTER VII.

Naval Campaign of 1812 continued.



The American arms on the ocean were all this time continuing to be triumphant. One naval victory succeeded another, until the people of the United States were astonished at the ceaseless prowess of their tars, and the nations of Europe stood in admiration, and began to look upon the rising naval establishment of America as a future rival to the formidable enemy against whom it was already successfully contending.

The United States frigate the United States, Captain Stephen Decatur, of forty-four guns, having separated from the squadron under Commodore Rodgers, with which she left Boston on the 18th of October, cruised in the track of the British frigates until the 25th, when in lat. 29 deg. N., long. 29 deg. 30 min. W., she fell in with the British frigate Macedonian, Captain John Carden, of thirty-eight guns, but carrying forty-nine, the odd one being a shifting gun. The Macedonian was to windward, and entered the engagement at her own distance. For half an hour after the

commencement of the action the United States had no opportunity of using her carronades, the enemy keeping out of their reach, and never once coming within the range of grape or musketry. The action, therefore, was of greater length than usual, and continued under every advantage to the enemy until the United States neared him. The fire from her then became so vivid that the enemy's crew imagining her to be on fire, gave many demonstrations of their joy, and expected every instant to see her blown up. But the Macedonian's mizzen-mast was shot away by the board, her fore and topmasts by the caps, her lower masts badly wounded, her main-mast destroyed, and all her rigging cut up. Most of her guns were disabled, the largest part of her crew killed and wounded, and having become a perfect wreck, she surrendered after an action of an hour and a half, at the moment when the United States was about to rake her.

The enthusiasm of the American crew on discovering the enemy, and during the battle, was perhaps unprecedented; the precision of their fire was never surpassed in any other naval engagement. Captain Carden being brought on board, presented his sword to Captain Decatur, who, in testimony of the gallantry of his enemy, declined accepting it, saying that "he could not receive the sword of a man who had defended his ship so bravely." The enemy's loss amounted to one hundred and four; thirty-six in killed, and sixty-eight wounded: among the latter, his first and third lieutenants. The loss of the United States was five killed and seven wounded, making a total of twelve. Among the latter was Lieutenant John Musser Funk, of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, who afterwards died of his wounds, regretted for his worth, and admired for his constant coolness and courage. The United States received no damage whatever, and returned to port only to see her prize safe in. The superiority of gunnery was decidedly, in this action, on the side of the American seamen, who fired seventy broadsides, whilst the enemy discharged but thirty-six.

The Macedonian was an entire new ship, and had been out of dock but four months. She was brought into the port of New London, and thence through the Sound to New York, where she was fitted out as a frigate, and as such bought

into the service of the United States at the value of two hundred thousand dollars.

Captain Decatur every where received the congratulations of the citizens. The legislatures of Pennsylvania and Virginia voted him an elegant sword; the Congress of the United States a gold medal. The corporation of New York voted him the freedom of the city in a gold box, and had his portrait set up in their gallery; and the select and common councils of Philadelphia, (in which city he was born,) voted him a superb sword, and appointed a committee, of which Captain John Mullowney, formerly of the United States navy was one; who in conjunction with Major-General John Barker, then mayor of the city, were to procure it to be made of American materials. This sword was presented to Captain Decatur by the mayor, accompanied by a concise and appropriate address, to which he made a pertinent and manly reply. Lieutenant Allen, first of the ship, and Lieutenant Nicholson, received the same honours from the legislature of Virginia.

On Lake Ontario the naval operations were becoming every day of more consequence. Arrangements had been made for the augmentation of the fleet, and a large ship was already on the stocks, nearly completed, and to be called the Madison. About the 6th of November, Commodore Chauncey, who commanded the fleet on this station, had some suspicion that three of the enemy's squadron had proceeded from Kingston, up the lake, with troops to reinforce Fort George. The vessels supposed to have sailed in this direction, were the Royal George of six, the Duke of Gloucester of ten, and the Prince Regent of fourteen guns. Commodore Chauncey immediately sailed with the brig Oneida of fourteen guns; the Governor Tompkins, Lieutenant Brown, of six guns; the Growler, Lieutenant Mix, of five guns; the Conquest, Lieutenant Elliot, of two guns; the General Hamilton, Lieutenant M'Pherson, of six guns; the Pert, Arundle, of two guns; and the Julia, Frant, of one long thirty-two-pounder—making in all thirty-six guns. As the enemy's vessels were expected to return to Kingston for more troops, it was intended to intercept them at the False Ducks, a collection of islands they would be obliged to pass.

On the 8th the squadron fell in with the Royal George, and chased her into the bay of Quinti, where she was lost sight of in the night. On the morning of the 9th she was discovered in Kingston channel. Signal was immediately made for a general chase, but by the alternate prevalence of squalls and calms, the squadron was led in close pursuit into the harbour of the enemy at Kingston. The commodore being determined on boarding her, though she was anchored under the enemy's batteries, with springs on her cables, that she might get all her guns to bear, gave his signal to that effect. At three o'clock the batteries opened their fire on the fleet, and sent forth a tremendous shower of shot and grape. Lieutenant Elliot, of the Conquest, pushed forward, and went in in the handsomest style. He was followed by the Julia, the Pert, and the Growler, in succession; then came up the brig, with the commodore, then the General Hamilton, and the Governor Tompkins. At twelve minutes after three Lieutenant Elliot opened his fire; at fifteen minutes after three the Pert, Julia, and Growler, opened theirs. At twenty minutes after three the whole of the batteries fired on the brig, and she sustained most of the fire during the remainder of the action. A little while after, the commodore gave the signal "engage closer," which was instantly obeyed. The Pert's gun about this time bursted and wounded her commander, who refusing to leave the deck, was knocked overboard by the boom and drowned. At forty minutes past three the brig opened her fire on the Royal George, and the Royal George on the Hamilton. The firing became now very hot, and was kept up with the greatest alacrity until four o'clock, when the Royal George cut her cables and ran away further up the bay.

The squadron became exposed to the cross fire of five batteries of flying artillery, in all about forty guns, and the guns of the ship the Royal George, which having taken a more advantageous position, set new springs and recommenced her fire. Round and grape were now falling around the squadron in heavy showers. At half an hour after four the whole hauled by the wind and beat out of the bay; two miles from which they anchored, in full sight, until the 10th, and after remaining there that day, they returned to Sackett's Harbour, with the

loss of one man killed and three wounded on board the Oneida. Whilst at the mouth of Kingston harbour, the commodore captured a schooner, and as she could not beat out with the squadron, he ordered the Growler to take her under convoy, to run down past Kingston, and anchor on the east end of Long Island, under an expectation that the Royal George would be induced to come out to recapture her; but her commander, fearing that the squadron might be close at hand, would not leave his moorings. The Royal George suffered very severely in her hull, as a number of thirty-two-pound shot pierced her through and through. The Growler having in vain tried to induce the enemy to come out, sailed with the prize schooner for Sackett's Harbour. On her way she discovered the Prince Regent and the Earl Moira, of eighteen guns, convoying a sloop to Kingston. She immediately ran in and placed herself behind a point with her prize, until the armed vessels had passed her, when she ran out again, pressed down upon the sloop, captured and brought her into Sackett's Harbour, having on board about twelve thousand dollars in specie, and Captain Brock, cousin and private secretary to General Brock, together with that general's private property and baggage. The commodore immediately put off in a snow storm, with a hope of cutting off the Earl Moira at the False Ducks. Captain Brock expressed great surprise on learning that the Americans had been in the British harbour, and that they had got out again with so little loss, the place being so strongly defended. Commodore Chauncey not having succeeded in intercepting the Earl Moira, returned again to the harbour, and made preparations for completing the new ship Madison, which, being finished on the 26th of November, was launched into her destined element without accident.

About this time the American privateers were floating in every direction on the ocean. They cruised before the entrances of most of the British colonial ports, and relying on the swiftness of their sailing, many of them had ventured into the chops of the British Channel. The alarm which was in consequence excited among the merchants of Great Britain, and the vast number of captures which were making by these vessels, induced the English government to fit out several sloops of war for the protection

of their coast. The brig Charybdis, of eighteen thirty-two-pounders, and the Opossum sloop of war, were ordered to cruise for several privateers which were then known to be in the neighbourhood of the coast, and which it was confidently expected would be brought in by one or the other of these armed vessels. The Charybdis fell in with the privateer Blockade of New York, of eight guns; and after an obstinate engagement of one hour and twenty minutes, in which the Charybdis lost twenty-eight of her officers and men killed and wounded, and the Blockade eight men only, the latter was carried and taken into port. The Opossum encountered the "Orders in Council," a small privateer, who fought her until they had exchanged seven broadsides, when, finding the enemy's force to be too powerful, she abandoned the contest and effected her escape.

The privateer Tom, Captain Wilson, of Baltimore, on the 23d of November descried a sail, gave chase, overhauled and brought her to an action, which terminated in the surrender of the enemy with the loss of her captain and four men killed, and several wounded. She proved to be the British packet Townsend, M'Coy, from Falmouth for Barbadoes. Her mail had been thrown overboard, but was picked up by the Tom's boats, and after being ransomed she was suffered to proceed.

The Bona privateer, of Baltimore, having discovered a British ship of eight hundred tons, and twenty-two guns, then on a voyage from Madeira, ran up and engaged her, when the great gun bursted, and Captain Dameron put twenty-nine officers and men into his boats, and despatched them to board her. After a severe fight upon her decks, they carried her with little loss. Two strange sail at this moment coming up in chase, the Bona left the prize in possession of those on board, and bore away to draw the chasing vessels after her.

The privateer Dolphin, Captain W. S. Stafford, of ten guns and sixty men, also of Baltimore, being off Cape St. Vincent, engaged a ship of sixteen guns and forty men, and a brig of ten guns and twenty-five men, at the same instant, and after a long and gallant action made prizes of both. The Dolphin had four men wounded; the enemy nineteen killed and forty wounded, among them the captain of one of the vessels. Instances of the



Commodore Bainbridge.

bold and daring intrepidity of the crews of the private armed vessels of the United States are so numerous, that the recital of them would swell this work very far beyond the limits which have been assigned to it. The enemy's commerce was every where assailed by them, and the British government was obliged to protect their merchant ships by large convoys of vessels of war.

A plan had been matured at the navy department for a cruise in the South Seas, and the frigate Constitution, now commanded by Commodore William Bainbridge, the Essex, Captain Porter, and the Hornet, Captain Lawrence, were selected to prosecute the voyage in company. On the 27th of October the Essex sailed from the Delaware, and on the 30th the Constitution and Hornet from Boston; several places of rendezvous having been assigned, at either of which this force was to be united to proceed upon the cruize. On the 29th of December the union of these vessels had not yet been effected, and on that day the Constitution



Constitution and Java.

descried a sail at meridian, in lat. 13 deg. 6 min. S., long 38 W., ten leagues from St. Salvador, which she soon discovered to be a British frigate. Commodore Bainbridge tacked sail and stood for her. At fifty minutes past one P. M. the enemy bore down with an intention of raking the Constitution, which she avoided by wearing. Much manœuvering took place on both sides, the object of the enemy being to rake, and of the Constitution to avoid being raked, and to draw the enemy from the neutral coast. At two P. M. the enemy was within half a mile of the Constitution, and to windward, having hauled down his colours, except the union jack, which was at the mizzen-masthead. A gun was then fired ahead of him to make him show his colours; but this gun was answered by a whole broadside. The enemy's colours were then hoisted, and the action began with round and grape; but he kept at so great a distance that the grape had little effect, and to bring him nearer would expose the Constitution to severe raking. At thirty minutes past two, both ships were within good canister distance, when the Constitution's wheel was shot away. At forty minutes past two, the fore and mainsail were set, and Commodore Bainbridge being now determined to close with him, luffed up for that purpose, and in ten minutes after the enemy's jibboom got foul of the Constitution's mizzen rigging, and in another ten minutes his bowsprit and jibboom were shot away. At five minutes past three his main-topmast was shot away just above the cap. This was followed by the loss of his gaff and spanker boom, and soon after his mainmast went nearly by the board. At five minutes past four the enemy was completely silenced, and his colours at the main being down, it was thought he had surrendered. The Constitution therefore shot ahead to repair damages, which being done, and the enemy's flag being discovered to be still flying, she wore, stood for the enemy in handsome style, and got close athwart his bows in an effectual position for raking, when his mainmast having also gone by the board, and seeing that further resistance would be useless whilst he lay so unmanageable a wreck, he struck his colours, and was immediately taken possession of Lieutenant Parker, and found to be his majesty's ship Java, of thirty-eight guns, but mounting forty-nine, commanded by a distinguished officer, Captain Lambert, who was

mortally wounded, and having on board at the commencement of the engagement upwards of four hundred men, and one hundred supernumerary seamen which she was carrying out to the East Indies for different ships there. The Constitution had nine men killed and twenty-five wounded. The Java sixty killed and one hundred and seventy wounded. She had on board despatches for St. Helena, Cape of Good Hope, and the different establishments in the East Indies and China, and copper for a seventy-four, building at Bombay. She had on board also, a number of passengers, among whom were Lieutenant-General Hislop, governor of Bombay, Major Walker, and one staff major, Captain Marshall, a master and commander in the royal navy, and several officers appointed to ships in the East Indies.

The conduct of both officers and crew in this engagement, was not less conspicuous for gallantry than in that of the Guerriere, and the same principles of humanity influenced their deportment to the prisoners. Among the wounded were the commodore and Lieutenant Aylwin, the latter of whom received a ball immediately under the collar bone, (within an inch of his former wound,) of which he died at sea, on the 28th January. Upon the call for boarders, he had mounted the quarter-deck hammock cloth, and was in the act of firing his pistols at the enemy when the ball passed through his shoulder-blade and threw him upon the deck. Midshipman Delany, who had been at his side in both the actions of the Constitution, bore him to the side of the mast, and ordered two men from his own division to carry him below, but such was his zeal for the success of the ship, that he would not suffer a single man to be taken from his station, nor would he consent to leave the deck until he saw the issue of the battle. Among the officers who distinguished themselves, were Lieutenant Parker, the first officer of the ship, and Midshipmen James Delany, of Pennsylvania, and John Packet, of Jefferson county, Virginia; the latter of whom was intrusted with the despatches from Commodore Bainbridge to the navy department, and has since been promoted to a lieutenancy. Many of the seamen exhibited a most uncommon degree of heroism; one of them, John Cheves, after being mortally wounded, remained on deck apparently dying, until the termination of the engagement, when the

word being passed that the enemy had struck, he raised himself up with one hand, gave three cheers, and fell back and expired. His brother was also severely wounded.

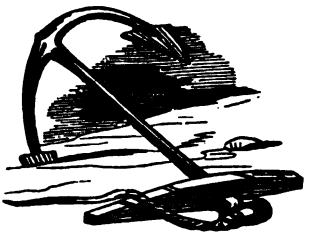
On the 1st of January, (nautical time,) Commodore Bainbridge, upon being informed by Lieutenant Parker that the prize was in such a condition that many repairs would be required to render her at all manageable, and knowing the immense distance at which he then was from any port in the United States, and how much he would be obliged to weaken his crew to man the prize properly, determined on blowing her up, which he accordingly did at 3 P. M., with every valuable article on board of her, except the prisoners' baggage. To these he administered every comfort which his means could afford, and at St. Salvador, at which place he landed the remaining crew of the Java, he received the public acknowledgments of Lieutenant-General Hislop to that effect, accompanied by the presentation of an elegant sword. Captain Lambert had received a mortal wound in the early part of the engagement, and was in so languishing a situation that he could not be removed from the Java until her destruction was resolved on, after which the commodore directed his course to St. Salvador to land and parole him. On arriving in that port, he landed the private passengers without considering them prisoners of war, and released the public passengers and the officers and crew, amounting to three hundred and fifty-one men, on their parole, on condition of their returning to England and remaining there, without serving in any of their professional capacities until they should be regularly exchanged.

At St. Salvador the Constitution met the sloop of war the Hornet, with whom she had parted a few days before the engagement, and leaving that vessel to blockade the British sloop of war the Bonne Citoyenne, Commodore Bainbridge broke up the intended cruise in the South Seas and returned to the United States. Here he was greeted with the applauses of his countrymen, and received the freedom of the city of New York in a gold box; a piece of plate from the citizens of Philadelphia, the thanks of many of the state legislatures, and a medal from Congress, with fifty thousand dollars for himself, officers, and crew. The legis-

lature of Virginia voted a handsome sword to Midshipman Packet of their state, and their approbation to the officers generally.

The comparative force of the two vessels has been a subject of much prevarication, as well as of the number of men in each. Captain Lambert having expired at St. Salvador, it became the duty of Lieutenant Chads, first officer of the Java, to make an official communication of the affair to his government. That officer, unmindful of the generous magnanimity with which he had been treated, endeavoured to take away from the credit of the American commodore by underrating the number of the British crew and the actual force of the British ship, and by very largely overrating the force and crew of the Constitution. He reported her force to be thirty-two long twenty-four-pounders, sixteen carronades, (thirty-two pounders,) and one carronade eighteen-pounder, being in all fifty-eight guns. The actual force of the Constitution was thirty twenty-four-pounders on her gun-deck, sixteen thirty-two-pound carronades on her quarter-deck, and eight guns on her forecastle, making in all fifty four guns. The Java carried twenty-eight twenty-four-pounders on her gun-deck, fourteen thirty-two-pounders, carronades, six guns on the forecastle, and one shifting gun, making in all forty-nine guns, which the lieutenant stated at forty-six.

Assurances were given to Commodore Bainbridge by the officers of the Java, that the ship left England with a crew which did not exceed three hundred and twenty men; but the prisoners received on board the Constitution very far exceeded that number, and when the muster-book of the Java was found and examined, it called for four hundred and nine officers, petty officers, seamen, and marines, so that their loss in killed must have been greater than they reported.





CHAPTER VIII

Operations of Winchester and Harrison in the North-west.



EXASPERATED at the successes of the American volunteer troops, in their repeated assaults upon the Indian posts along the north-western frontier, the enemy resolved upon an immediate movement of his combined forces, to the village of Frenchtown, with a view to intercept the American expedition, in its further approaches towards Detroit. In the event of this movement, which was now (January) every day looked for, the inhabitants of Frenchtown were apprehensive of being massacred, and they therefore implored General Winchester to march to their protection, though the troops at that time under his command, were far inferior in numbers to the collected force, by which in all probability they would be assailed. Without any previous concert with General Harrison as to the plan of operations, and without his knowledge or authority, General Winchester, yielding to the solicitation of the inhabitants, determined upon marching with his small force, then reduced to eight hundred by the discharge of those regiments whose term of service

had expired, to prevent, if possible, the destruction of the village and the threatened murder of its inhabitants. On the 17th, Lieutenant-Colonel William Lewis was ordered to proceed with a detachment to Presque isle, where he was to wait the arrival of a reinforcement of another detachment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Allen, which would soon after be followed by the main body of the troops. On the morning of the 18th, the two detachments concentrated at Presque isle; when Colonel Lewis, having been informed that an advance party of the British and Indians, amounting to about five hundred, were already encamped at Frenchtown, immediately determined on attacking them. A rapid march brought him within their view at about three o'clock. At three miles distance he was apprized of their being prepared to receive him, and, lest they should sally out and suddenly encounter him, he arranged his men in the order of battle, and approached with caution to the margin of the river.

The command of the right wing, composed of the companies of Captains M'Cracken, Bledsoe, and Matson, was assigned to Lieutenant-Colonel Allen. The command of the left, composed of the companies of Captains Hamilton, Williams, and Kelly, to Major Graves. Major Madison was placed in the centre, with the companies of Captain Hightower, of the 17th United States infantry, and Captains Collier and Sabrie. Captain Ballard, acting as major, was sent in advance with two companies, commanded by Captains Hickman and Glaves.

Thus organized, the whole body came within a quarter of a mile of the enemy. The river only separated them. The line was then displayed, and the passage of the river was attempted, under a fire from a howitzer which the enemy directed against the volunteers with little effect. The line remained firm, and marched across the ice to the opposite shore, at the very moment when the signal was given for a general charge.

Majors Graves and Madison were instantly ordered to assail the houses and picketing, in and about which, the enemy had collected and arrayed his cannon, before this charge could be made. The two battalions advanced with great velocity, under an incessant shower of bullets, carried the picketing with ease, dislodged the British and Indians, and drove them into the woods

Lieutenant-Colonel Allen made a simultaneous movement upon the enemy's left, then at a considerable distance from the remainder of his troops, and after one or two spirited charges, compelled him to break, and drove him more than a mile; after which he took shelter in the same wood, to which the right had retired. Here the two wings concentrated, and, being covered by the fences of several inclosed lots and a group of houses, with a thick and brushy wood, and a quantity of fallen timber in the rear, they made a stand with their howitzer and small arms. Colonel Allen was still advancing with the right wing of the American detachment, and was exposed to the fire of the whole body of the enemy. Majors Graves and Madison were then directed to move up with the left and the centre, to make a diversion in favour of the right. Their fire had just commenced when the right wing advanced upon the enemy's front.

A sanguinary fight immediately followed; the houses were desperately assailed, the British, who were stationed behind the fences, were vigorously charged, and the enemy a third time fled. Rapid pursuit was instantly given to him. The British and Indians drew the Americans into the wood in their rear, and again rallying their forces, several times intrepidly attempted, under the direction of Major Reynolds, to break the American line. The fight became close and extremely hot upon the right wing, but the whole line maintained its ground, repulsed every attempt, followed up the enemy each time as he fell back, and kept him two miles on the retreat, under a continual charge. At length, after having obstinately contended against the American arms upwards of three hours, the British and Indians were entirely dispersed, and carrying off all their wounded and as many of their dead as they could collect, they retired from the field, leaving fifteen of their warriors behind.

The American loss amounted to twelve killed and fifty-five wounded. The gallantry of the officers of the detachments left no chance of discrimination to the commandant. Most of them have been already mentioned in reference to their conduct on other occasions. The coolness of the men was such, that whilst they were assaulting and driving the enemy from the houses, not a woman or child inhabiting them was hurt. Colonel Lewis

encamped upon the same ground which had been previously occupied by the enemy. He had captured some public property, and protected the inhabitants thus far from the apprehended cruelty of the Indians, and he now made preparations to maintain his position until he should he joined by General Winchester.

On the 20th the troops under General Winchester arrived, and when the whole were concentrated they did not exceed seven hundred and fifty men. Six hundred were posted in pickets, and one hundred and fifty composing the right wing were encamped in an open field. On the morning of the 22d, at reveille, a combined force under Tecumseh and Colonel Proctor, of two thousand one hundred men attacked the encampment. The alarm gun was immediately fired, and the troops ready for the reception of the assailants. The attack commenced with a heavy fire of small arms, and the discharge of six pieces of artillery, directed immediately at the temporary breastwork, behind which the left wing was stationed. The right wing was attacked with great violence and sustained the conflict about twenty minutes, but being outnumbered and overpowered, was obliged to retreat across the river. Two companies, of fifty men each, sallied out of the breastwork to their assistance, but retreated with them. A large body of Indians had been stationed in the rear of the encampment before the attack commenced, who either made prisoners of, or cut off the retreating party. The left wing maintained its ground within the pickets.

Three furious onsets were made upon it by the British 41st, each of which was received with distinguished coolness, and each of which terminated in the repulse of the enemy. In the desperate resistance which was made to the charges of this regiment, thirty of its men were killed, and between ninety and one hundred wounded. When the right wing was discovered to be retreating, every effort was used to form them in some order of action, either to repel the pursuers, or to regain the temporary breastwork, from behind which the remaining part of the troops were still gallantly defending themselves.

General Winchester's head-quarters were several hundred yards from the encampment, he therefore was not in the first [illegible] engagement, but he had no sooner arrived at the

Colonel Lewis, and some others, who were attempting to rally the flying right wing, were taken prisoners. The remainder of the battle was fought in confusion, and was rather a proof of the invincible bravery of the Americans than of any regard which they had for the order of the fight. They saw the great disparity of force, and knew how much their own had been weakened by the destruction of the right wing. But they continued to repel every charge of the assailants, until eleven o'clock, when an order was received, by a flag from the enemy, by which it appeared, that General Winchester was assured, that unless the troops of his command were immediately surrendered, the buildings in Frenchtown would be set on fire, and that no responsibility would be taken for the conduct of the savages, who composed the largest part of the enemy's force; that to save the lives of the remaining portion of his brave troops, he had agreed to surrender them prisoners of war, on condition of their being protected from the savages, of their being allowed to retain their private property, and of having their side arms returned to them. Thirty-five officers, and four hundred and eighty-seven non-commissioned officers and privates were accordingly surrendered, after having fought with small arms, against artillery, for six hours; and being all that time surrounded by Indians resorting to their usual terrific yells. The loss of the Americans was twenty-two officers, and two hundred and seventy-five non-commissioned officers and privates killed and missing, and three officers and twenty-two privates wounded, who were among the prisoners surrendered. The enemy's loss, except that of the 41st regulars, could not be ascertained, every means being used to prevent a discovery. It has been supposed, however, that it was little less than that of the Americans. Colonel Proctor afterwards stated it, in his official communication, to be twenty-four killed, and one hundred and fifty-eight wounded.

The events which followed the surrender of the American arms, were of such a nature as to make the heart of man recoil from their recital, and to deprive the historian of a *later* day of that degree of temperance which ought ever to be inseparable from candid and impartial narration. Facts which have been established beyond the possibility of doubt, which have been testified by the

solemn affirmations of the officers of the captured army, and admitted by those of the enemy, which took place immediately under the eye of the conquering commander, and which were sanctioned by his presence, ought not to be withheld from the world; the fidelity of history will not allow them to be magnified, nor can they in justice be extenuated.

Destitute of the common principles of sacred humanity, and regardless of the civilized usages of honourable warfare, the allied British and Indian forces no sooner received the surrender of the vanquished, though brave defenders of the invaded territory, than they assailed them with their tomahawks and scalping-knives, and stripped them of their property and clothing.

When the right wing fell back, and about forty men, under Lieutenant Isaac L. Baker, were attempting to escape, an offer of protection was made to them on condition of their surrender. Lieutenant Baker very gladly yielded to the proposal for the safety of his men, but the proffered protection did not follow. One half of his party were butchered and left naked on the field, and himself and the remainder were marched back to Colonel Proctor's camp. They gave up their arms to the Indians, and defenseless as they were, many of them who brought up the rear as prisoners, were massacred on the march.

When General Winchester was captured, in the act of pursuing and rallying the right wing, the same solemn assurances of protection were given to him on condition of his ordering the whole detachment to surrender. His humanity induced him to comply, but when the troops were brought within the British camp, their side arms and accoutrements were taken from them and presented to the savages. They were then left in custody of the Indians, who were instructed to follow the British regulars to Malden, to which place the prisoners were to be conducted. The wounded prisoners were more likely to become the objects of Indian resentment, and the American general remonstrated, therefore, with the commanding British officer on the necessity of their being removed by the regulars. To this remonstrance a pledge was given that such prisoners should be attended to They were left behind, however, and on the morning of the 23d, the Indians fired many houses of the inhabitants, and br



Massacre at the River Baiala

prisoners who had been placed within them. Being then in readiness to march, they arranged other prisoners in that order, and on finding that many of them could not walk, in consequence of the severity of their wounds, they immediately stripped them, stood them up for targets, and after killing, tomahawked and scalped them. Numbers of them who attempted the march to avoid so dreadful a fate, became exhausted on the way, and received the same treatment in the presence of their afflicted fellow prisoners. Among those who were placed in this latter situation, was an officer whose case was of the most unparalleled atrocity. Captain N. G. S. Hart,* of Lexington, who had on several occasions, but on this particularly, signalized himself by his undaunted bravery, and who received a flesh wound in the knee in the early part of the engagement, on being surrendered with the troops, was immediately recognized by Colonel Elliot, an American by birth, who had been a class-mate of Captain Hart at an American college, and who has long been notorious for his activity in exciting the savages to arm themselves against his fellow-citizens. In this action he was bearing arms against his own countrymen, and on discovering the companion of his youth in the hands of the savages, he felt that degree of national sympathy, of which no man, however vile, can entirely divest himself; and without being solicited, made a promise of his protection, and of providing a conveyance to Malden, which would place Captain Hart under his superintendence until his recovery should be effected. But Colonel Elliot's promise was forgotten, or was made only to be broken. He departed, and a band of Indians entered the house in which Captain Hart lay and tore him from his bed, one of his brother officers then conveyed him to another apartment, where he was again assailed. He at length induced the Indians to take him to Malden, under the promise of a large reward. They proceeded but five miles on the road before they shot him while on his horse, and took his scalp. The fate of Colonel Allen, Captains M'Cracken, Woodfolk, Hickman, and other officers, was no less unfortunate than that of Captain Hart.

* Captain Hart was brother-in-law to Mr. Henry Clay, one of the American commissioners at Ghent.

When the surviving prisoners, officers and men, arrived at Malden, the savages were allowed to sell them, and many of the American citizens who had been permitted to remain in the town of Detroit for temporary purposes, stepped forward to ransom them, but when Colonel Proctor discovered that by this means they obtained their release, he issued an order forbidding any future exchanges of prisoners for money. Most of the officers, and many of the men among the volunteers, were of the first respectability, holding offices of high trust, members of the Congress of the United States, and accustomed to those refinements which result from wealth and education. They had left the ease and affluence with which their homes abounded, to obey the voice of their invaded country, and had encountered all kinds of hardships in their different marches. These men, while prisoners at Malden, were treated with that haughty superciliousness, which belongs not to the noble soldier, nor to the enlightened man.

Judge Woodward, of the Supreme Court of the Michigan territory, rendered every assistance to the prisoners within the power of an individual, and by the influence which he had acquired over the British commander greatly alleviated their misfortunes. He boldly charged the enemy with the enormities which had been committed, and informed Colonel Proctor, after having supplied him by his own directions with affidavits which substantiated all the facts, that "*the truth would undoubtedly eventually appear, and that that unfortunate day must meet the steady and impartial eye of history.*"

Colonel Proctor extenuated the facts, made no denial of their occurrence, but alleged that no capitulation was entered into; that the prisoners surrendered at discretion, and that therefore it was not necessary to control the Indians. The battle was officially announced to the Canadian people from the head-quarters of the commander-in-chief, the governor-general. His communication informed them that another brilliant action had been achieved by a division of the army under Colonel Proctor, and admitted that the loss of the Americans was great, because the Indian warriors had cut off all who attempted to escape. The Indian chief Round Head, he said had rendered essential services by his bravery and

good conduct, and Colonel Proctor had nobly displayed his gallantry by his humane and unwearied exertions in rescuing the vanquished from the revenge of the Indians; for which good conduct he was promoted, until the pleasure of the Prince Regent should be known, to the rank of a brigadier-general in Upper Canada. The general order concluded by ordering "a salute of twenty-one guns to be fired on this glorious occasion."



General Harrison having heard of the exposed situation of General Winchester's troops, had ordered a detachment from General Perkins's brigade to march under Major Cotgroves to his relief; but they did not reach Frenchtown before the battle, and immediately on their return to the Rapids, at which place General Harrison was then stationed, he fell back eighteen miles to the carrying river, in order to force a junction with the troops in the rear, and to cover the convoy of artillery and stores then coming from Upper Sandusky. From this place he despatched a flag of truce, with a surgeon, to Malden to attend to the captured sick and wounded; his flag was not respected, however, and one of the surgeon's companions was killed, and himself wounded and taken prisoner.

A strong desire now prevailed among the troops to avenge the loss of their brave brethren in arms, and Governor Meigs having promptly forwarded two regiments of Ohio militia to reinforce General Harrison, he again advanced to the Rapids and commenced building a fort, which has since been rendered memorable under the name of Fort Meigs. Fortifications were at the same time constructed at Upper Sandusky, under the direction of General Crooks. Whilst these precautionary measures were adopted for the protection of the troops, and the defense of the territory, detached parties were frequently indulged in short excursions, none of which resulted in any material advantage. In one of these, the commander-in-chief himself, marched to Presque isle at the head of a detachment, upon hearing that a body of Indians had collected at that place; but the Indians fled

at his approach too rapidly to be overtaken, and he returned to his encampment, after having marched sixty miles in twenty-one hours.

A few days after, Captain Langham was despatched to destroy the Queen Charlotte, then lying near Malden; but the decayed state of the ice defeated the object of the expedition. In the com mencement of April a desperate affair took place between an equal number of Frenchmen and Indians, who fought each other in canoes, until the greater part on both sides were either killed or wounded; but no event of any consequence occurred during the remainder of the winter, the unauthorized movement of General Winchester was entirely subversive of General Harrison's plans, and so contrary to his arrangements, that the whole system of organization was again to be gone over. General Harrison therefore left the troops strengthening the posts of Fort Meigs, Upper Sandusky, and Fort Stephenson, whilst he returned to Ohio to consult with the governor, to accelerate the march of the reinforcements, and to expedite the transportation of additional stores. He had not been long absent from Fort Meigs, before the garrison was threatened with an attack. New levies were hastily made from Ohio and Kentucky, but as they did not arrive in time to resist the enemy, now collecting in large numbers in the neighbourhood, the Pennsylvania brigade voluntarily extended its term of service, which had just then expired.

General Harrison was apprized of this circumstance by despatch, and returned with all possible expedition to the garrison. He arrived on the 20th April, and made instant preparation for an approaching siege. Patroles and reconnoitering parties were constantly kept out, and on the 26th they reported the enemy—on that day the advance of the enemy made its appearance on the opposite shore, and were discovered viewing the works; after reconnoitering a short time they retired. On the following day they appeared again; but a few eighteen pound shot soon obliged them to retreat

The fort was situated on a commanding eminence, and was well supplied with every necessary munition of war, but General Harrison being desirous of putting his men in the best possible state of security, was every day erecting fortifications of different

descriptions. The troops in the garrison were animated and zealous in the cause of their country, and their exertions were without parallel. On the 28th, Captain Hamilton was sent out with a patrolling party. About three miles down the river he discovered the enemy in great force, approaching Fort Meigs, and immediately communicated his discovery to the general.

An express was then sent to General Green Clay, who commanded a brigade of twelve hundred Kentuckians, with an order for his immediate march to Fort Meigs. General Harrison addressed the troops, informed them of the vital importance of every man's being vigilant and industrious at his post, and received assurances that none of them would abandon their duty. A few British and a body of Indians commenced a very brisk fire from the opposite shore, but the distance was too great to do injury. Their fire was returned from two eighteen pounders, and they retired and concealed themselves from the view of the fort. In the evening, the enemy crossed the river in boats, and selected the best situations about the fort to throw up works for the protection of their battering cannon. The garrison was completely surrounded, and preparations were active upon one side to storm the fort, and on the other to repel the most vigorous assault. Several dragoons, who had offered to reconnoiter the enemy's camp, had not proceeded far from the fort, when they were fired on, and one of them was shot through the arm. Early on the morning of the 29th, the Indians fired into the fort with their rifles, and mortally wounded a man who was talking with the general—a constant firing was kept up on both sides during the whole day. Several men in the garrison were slightly wounded, and a number of the enemy were killed. His batteries had been so far constructed during the night, that sufficient protection was afforded to him to work by daylight. Numbers of shot were thrown into the breastworks to impede their progress, but before night, he had three batteries erected, two with four embrasures each, and one bomb battery.

On the morning of the 30th, the besiegers were discovered to have extended their batteries, and to be preparing them for the cannon. Their progress in doing this was retarded by a well-directed and constant fire from the besieged. They were observed

to carry away men from the batteries, by which it was supposed that the fire from the fort had either killed or wounded many of them.

General Harrison, having a suspicion that the enemy intended to surprise and storm the garrison in its rear, from the circumstance of a number of boats having repeatedly crossed from the old British garrison to the side on which stood the American fort, each loaded with men, he gave orders for one-third of the troops to be constantly on guard, and the remainder to sleep with their muskets in their arms, and to be in readiness to fly to their posts at any moment. The Indians occupied all the advantageous positions around the fort, and to this and many other discouraging circumstances was added the want of water, which was supplied only from the river, whence a few men were each night obliged to obtain enough for the garrison for the succeeding day. This they did at an imminent risk of their lives, the Indians being always on the alert. During this day there were several killed and wounded on both sides. In the night, a gun-boat which had been towed up the river by the enemy, was placed near the fort, and kept up a fire at intervals upon it. No one ball entered it, however, and on the morning of May 1st she moved off, after having discharged thirty shot without effect.

This morning the grand traverse, at which the men had been some time engaged, was nearly finished, and several inferior ones were commenced in different directions. The American garrison was now in very excellent condition, and as soon as the well should be finished, would defy the utmost power of the besiegers. At about ten o'clock the enemy had one cannon prepared. With that he kept up a brisk fire. In the course of the day he opened several pieces on the fort, and before night he had in operation one twenty-four-pounder, one twelve, one six, and a howitzer, from which he fired two hundred and fifty-six shot during the day, and four at night, without doing any material injury to Fort Meigs; though one man was wounded mortally, two badly, and five slightly, and a ball struck a bench upon which General Harrison was sitting. One of their pieces was silenced several times.

On the second of May the firing commenced very early wit

bombs and balls, and continued until four hundred and fifty-seven discharges were made in the day, and four at night. American loss this day, one killed and ten wounded, besides several slightly touched. Numbers of the enemy's warriors were carried away from their batteries in blankets. On the 3d, a fierce and vigorous fire of bombs and cannon balls commenced with the day. Two batteries, one of which was a bomb-battery, were opened upon the rear right-angle of the American fort, at a distance of two hundred and fifty yards. Their fire was promptly returned, and several times silenced, but they continued it at intervals during the day. Six men were killed in the fort and three wounded, by the cannon and bombs, from which during this day and at night there were five hundred and sixty-three shot and shells discharged.

The Indians ascended the trees in the neighbourhood of the fort and fired into it with their rifles, only one man, however, was killed by a bullet. On the 4th no firing took place until eleven o'clock. It was at first supposed that the enemy had exhausted himself, but at nine o'clock it was discovered that he was erecting an additional battery, to guard against which, General Harrison ordered a new traverse to be constructed. A heavy rain, which fell in the early part of the day, retarded the firing on both sides. The rifle was used oftener on this than on any other day. The cannon shot did not exceed two hundred and twenty-two. Several men were slightly wounded, and two killed in the course of the night. The principal part of the British were at the old batteries on the opposite side of the river, one of their officers of rank crossed over within musket-shot of the fort, and was shot by Lieutenant Gwynne.

On the 5th, the fire from the besiegers was very slow, they killed three men with bombs, and discharged their pieces one hundred and forty-three times in all. General Clay had put his troops in motion as soon as he received General Harrison's orders of the 28th ultimo, and had marched with great expedition. At two o'clock on this day, M. Oliver, who had been sent with the despatches, arrived at the fort with forty-seven men of General Clay's brigade, and informed General Harrison that the whole detachment was within a few hour's march. Orders were imme-

diately sent to General Clay to land eight hundred men on the opposite shore, to storm the enemy's batteries, spike his cannon, and destroy his carriages, whilst a sortie would be circuitously made from the fort for the purpose of attacking his new works at the same instant, and compelling him to raise the siege. Colonel Dudley was charged with the execution of this order, and Colonel Miller of the 19th United States infantry was to command the sortie. Colonel Dudley landed his men from the boats in which they had descended the river, and marched them resolutely up to the mouth of the British cannon. The four batteries were instantly carried, eleven guns spiked, and the British regulars and Canadian militia put to flight.

In pursuance of General Harrison's orders, Colonel Dudley, after having effected the object of his landing, ought to have crossed the river to Fort Meigs, but his men were so much elated at the success of their first battle, that they were desirous of pursuing and capturing the retreating enemy. An immense body of Indians were at that time marching to the British camp, who were met by the regulars as they retired. With these they formed, and putting the Indians in ambush, they made a feint to draw Colonel Dudley's men into the woods, in which they too well succeeded. The Indians came out from their ambuscade, and attacked the brave but indiscreet Kentuckians. A severe engagement took place, which terminated in the death or capture of almost the whole detachment, and which was followed by the same kind of massacre, though not to the same extent, which succeeded the surrender at Raisin.

The British intercepted the retreat of Colonel Dudley to the river, where he would have been protected by the guns of Fort Meigs, and only one hundred and fifty men, out of eight hundred, effected their escape. Forty-five were tomahawked, and Colonel Dudley, their gallant leader, was among the killed. He is said to have shot one of the Indians after being himself mortally wounded. The remainder of General Clay's brigade assailed a body of Indians in the wood near the fort, and would have been also drawn into an ambush had not General Harrison ordered a party of dragoons to sally out and protect their retreat to the fort.

The contemplated sortie was intended to have been simulta-



Siege of Fort Meigs.

neous with the attack on the opposite side of the river; but the impetuosity of Colonel Dudley's troops defeated this project, and Colonel Miller, with part of the 19th and a body of militia, in all three hundred and fifty men, sallied forth after the Indians were apprized of the attack upon the old batteries. He assaulted the whole line of their works, which was defended, as has since been ascertained, by two hundred regulars, one hundred and fifty militia, and four or five hundred Indians, and after several brilliant and intrepid charges, succeeded in driving the enemy from his principal batteries and in spiking the cannon. He then returned to the fort with forty-two prisoners, among whom were two lieutenants.

The first charge was made on the Indians and Canadians by the battalion of Major Alexander, the second on the regulars and Indians by Colonel Miller's regulars, the officers of which were Captains Croghan, Langham, Bradford, Nearing, and Lieutenant Campbell, and a company of Kentuckians, commanded by Captain Sabrie, who distinguished himself in the first affair at Frenchtown. This company maintained its ground with more firmness than could have been expected from a hasty levy of militia, and against four times its number. It was at length,

however, surrounded by Indians, and would have been entirely cut off, had not Lieutenant Gwynne of the 19th charged the Indians with part of Captain Elliot's company and released the Kentuckians.

On the 6th, hostilities seemed to have ceased on both sides. The besieged sent down a flag by Major Hukill to attend to the comforts of the American wounded and prisoners, which returned with the British Major Chambers, between whom and the garrison some arrangements were made about sending home the prisoners by Cleveland. On the 7th there was a continuation of bad weather. Flags were passing to and from the two armies during the whole day, and arrangements were entered into by which the American militia were to be sent to Huron, to return home by that route, and the Indians were to relinquish their claim to the prisoners taken on the opposite shore, and to receive in exchange for them a number of Wyandotts, who had been captured in the sallies of the 5th. During the 8th the exchange and intercourse of flags continued, and a promise was made by the British to furnish General Harrison with a list of the killed, wounded, and prisoners, which, however, was not complied with. On the 9th the enemy was observed to be abandoning his works, a sloop and several gun-boats had been brought up in the night and were receiving the cannon—on being discovered a few guns from Fort Meigs obliged them to relinquish their design, and by ten o'clock the siege was raised, and the whole of the enemy's forces were on their retreat.

Thus terminated a siege of thirteen days, in which the British commander, General Proctor, promised the Indian allies, that the American garrison should be reduced, and its defenders delivered over to them as prisoners of war. Eighteen hundred shells and cannon balls had been fired into the fort, and a continual discharge of small arms had been kept up, yet the American loss was only eighty-one killed, and one hundred and eighty-nine wounded. Seventeen only of the former during the siege, the remainder in the sortie, and the different assaults of the 5th. Of the latter, one hundred and twenty-four were wounded in the sortie, and sixty-six during the siege. The loss of the United States regulars was one hundred and fifty-six in killed and

wounded, that of the Kentucky and Ohio militia and the twelve months volunteers, one hundred and fourteen.

But Kentucky, as on other occasions, suffered the most severely, her loss in killed and wounded amounting to seventy-two. The daring intrepidity of the citizens of that state, had continually, and too often with an indiscreet impetuosity, led them into the most dangerous situations. It was to this that their defeat under Colonel Dudley was to be attributed, and because of this, that they lost in that affair two hundred and upwards in killed and missing. But it was to this, also, that the gratitude of the whole nation was due, when, regardless of the blood which in the first stage of the war she had already freely and profusely shed, her citizens came forward with unabating alacrity, and volunteered their services on every hazardous expedition.

The force under General Proctor was reported by deserters to be five hundred and fifty regulars, and eight hundred militia. The number of the Indians was greater beyond comparison than had ever been brought into the field before. They were much dissatisfied at the failure of the repeated attacks upon the fort, the spoils of which had been promised to them—yet they several times during the sortie, prevented the capture of the whole of their allies, the British regulars. In one of the assaults, commanded by Captain Croghan, upon a battery which was defended by the grenadier and light infantry companies of the 41st regiment, the enemy suffered severely, and, but for the immediate assistance of the Indians, could not have effected a retreat, which the vigour of the assault compelled them to make.

General Harrison caused not only the ground upon which the enemy's batteries had been erected in the neighbourhood of the fort, but that on which Colonel Dudley's battle had been fought, to be strictly examined; on the latter, the body of that unfortunate officer was discovered dreadfully mangled. The bodies of several of his detachment were also found, and the whole were collected and buried with the honours and solemnities due to their rank and the occasion. Offensive preparations were now for a time suspended. The naval equipments on Lake Erie were in active forwardness, and until these were completed, the troops were to remain at Fort Meigs and Sandusky. The forces at

either were adequate to its defense, and General Harrison left General Clay in command of the former, whilst he set out for the latter, and thence intended to repair to Franklinton to forward new reinforcements. In the month of June a general council of Indian chiefs was assembled in the neighbourhood of Seneca town, Lower Sandusky, to which place the head-quarters of General Harrison had been transferred. The result of their deliberations was an offer to take up arms in behalf of the United States, and they proposed to accompany General Harrison into Canada. But the incursions of the hostile chiefs were now more frequent than before. Their depredations were extended along the shores of the lake, and many of the inhabitants were killed or made prisoners. But a temporary check was given to their inroads, by a squadron of dragoons, who encountered and cut to pieces a party of the most ferocious of the savages.

Colonel Ball was descending the Sandusky with twenty-two men, when he was fired upon by about twenty Indians from an ambush. He charged upon and drove them from their ambuscade, and after an obstinate contest upon a plain, favourable to the operations of cavalry, he destroyed every chief of the party. During the warmest of the engagement, he was dismounted, and in personal fight with a warrior of great strength. They fought with desperation until the colonel was relieved by an officer who shot down the Indian. The savages then became furious, and after giving their customary signal to receive no quarter, they made a vigorous onset, and kept up the contest until their whole band was destroyed. This affair produced some terror among the Indians, and the persons and property of the inhabitants were secured for awhile from outrage and plunder.

The conduct of this vigilant and able officer has been frequently spoken of in general orders. At the repulse of the besiegers of Fort Meigs, he was among the most conspicuous of those officers, who vainly strove to surpass each other in the acquittal of their duty. To Majors Ball, Todd, Sodwick, and Ritzer, and Major Johnson of the Kentucky militia, the commander-in-chief gave a public expression of his warmest approbation. Of Captain Wood, of the engineers, who has since that time so nobly distinguished himself in a sortie from another garrison, the general

said, that in assigning to him the first palm of merit, as far as it related to the transactions within the works, he was convinced that his decision would be awarded by every individual in camp, who witnessed his indefatigable exertion, his consummate skill in providing for the safety of every point, and in foiling every attempt of the enemy; and his undaunted bravery in the performance of his duty in the most exposed situation. In speaking of the Kentuckians, he said, that it rarely happened that a general had to complain of the excessive ardour of his men, yet, that such always appeared to be the case whenever the Kentucky militia were engaged, and that they appeared to think that valour alone could accomplish any thing. The general was led to make this remark from the conduct of Captain Dudley's men, of one of the militia regiments, as he understood that that gallant officer was obliged to turn his espontoon against his own company, to oblige them to desist from a further pursuit of the enemy. This declaration referred to the conduct of his company in the sortie.

On the sixth or seventh day of the siege, General Harrison received from General Proctor a summons to surrender, which was delivered in the usual form, by Major Chambers, who informed the general that the British commander was desirous of saving the effusion of blood. General Harrison expressed great astonishment at this demand. As General Proctor did not send it on his arrival, he supposed that the British officers believed he was determined to do his duty. Major Chambers then in vain attempted to pursuade him of the high respect which General Proctor entertained for him as a soldier, and informed him that there was now a larger body of Indians assembled than had ever been known to have been at one time organized. General Harrison dismissed him with assurances that he had a very correct idea of General Proctor's force; that it was not such as to create the least apprehension for the result of the contest; that General Proctor should never have that post surrendered to him upon any terms; and that if it should fall into his hands, it should be in a manner calculated to do him more honour, and to give him larger claims upon the gratitude of his government, than he could possibly derive from any capitulation.



CHAPTER IX.

Commencement of the Campaign of 1813.



ARRANGEMENTS having been entered into between the American and British commissaries to that effect, a mutual exchange of prisoners took place, which restored to the army of the United States all the distinguished officers who had fallen into the hands of the enemy during the campaign of 1812. Vigorous preparations had, in the mean time, been making by the northern army and the army of the centre, for opening the campaign of 1813. Reinforcements of regulars from most of the recruiting districts, and the necessary supplies of provisions and military equipments, had been forwarded with the utmost celerity, and every thing seemed to promise a successful issue to the contemplated operations.

Captain Forsythe and his company, consisting now of about one hundred and eighty-five men, were still stationed at Ogdensburg were he was in command. Deserters from the Canada side of the St. Lawrence were continually surrendering themselves to him at this post, until their numbers became at length so extensive, that the vigilance of the enemy was strongly excited. British guards were repeatedly sent over to the American shore in search of them, and though they succeeded in taking about sixteen, they committed so many aggressions upon the persons and property of the citizens; that Captain Forsythe determined on attacking them in the village of Elizabethtown, and releasing the deserters whom they had thus taken and imprisoned at that place. On the 6th of February, he therefore drafted a part of his own

company, and accepted the services of a sufficient number of volunteers to make his command amount to two hundred men. With these, accompanied by Colonel Benedict and several private gentlemen, he proceeded up the river to Morristown, where he formed his men, and at three o'clock on the morning of the 7th he crossed over to Elizabethtown, surprised the guard, took fifty-two prisoners, among whom were one major, three captains, and two lieutenants, and captured one hundred and twenty muskets, twenty rifles, two casks of fixed ammunition, and some other public property, without the loss of a single man. He then released the deserters from the jail, recrossed the river, and returned to Ogdensburg, where he negotiated with two British officers sent over for that purpose, for the parole of the prisoners.

Soon after this, the movements of the enemy at Prescot were indicative of an intention to attack Ogdensburg. Colonel Benedict was therefore induced to call out his regiment of militia, and arrangements were immediately made for the defense of the place. On the 21st of February the enemy appeared before it with a force of twelve hundred men, and succeeded in driving out Captain Forsythe and his troops. The British attacked in two columns, of six hundred men each, at eight o'clock in the morning, and were commanded by Captain M'Donnell of the Glengary light infantry, and Colonel Fraser of the Canadian militia. The American riflemen and militia received them with firmness, and contended for the ground upwards of an hour; when the superiority of numbers compelled them to abandon it, and to retreat to Black Lake, nearly nine miles from Ogdensburg, after losing twenty men in killed and wounded. The loss of the enemy, from the deliberate coolness with which the riflemen fired, was reputed to have been thrice that number. The British account, which claimed the capture of immense stores, none of which had ever been deposited there, admitted the loss of five distinguished officers. In consequence of this affair, a message was sent by the commandant of Fort George to Colonel M'Feely, the commandant of Fort Niagara, informing him that a salute would be fired the next day in honour of the capture of the American village. Colonel M'Feely having received intelligence in the course of the same evening of the capture of his majesty's frigate the



Commodore Chauncey.

Java, returned the message to the British commandant by communicating to him his intention of firing a salute at the same hour from Fort Niagara in celebration of this brilliant event.

On the 26th of March the batteries on Black Rock were opened upon the enemy, and the fire continued with little intermission until night. The sailors' battery completely silenced the lower battery of the enemy, but what damage was done to his troops has not been ascertained. One man was killed, and several hurt by accidents at the Rock.

Reinforcements were now every day arriving, and the concentration of a large force at Sackett's Harbour was effected about the middle of April. Many of the troops from Champlain and the shores of the St. Lawrence, among whom was Captain Forsythe's command, were ordered to that point, and it was confidently expected that the campaign would be commenced by the invasion of Canada in or before the following month of May. Orders had been given to Commodore Chauncey, by the navy department, to receive on board the squadron the commanding

general Dearborn, and any force which he might destine to proceed against the posts on the British Niagara frontier. A plan had been conceived and organized by General Dearborn, by which, in co-operation with the fleet, he was to storm and carry the works at Little York, the capital of Upper Canada, and to proceed thence to the assault of Fort George, the great bulwark of that country.

The capital of Upper Canada was formerly known by the name of Toronto, and is situated at the bottom of a harbour of the same name, which is formed by a long and narrow peninsula called Gibraltar Point, on the extremity of which stores and block-houses are constructed. The garrison stands on a bank of the main land opposite to the point. To the westward of the garrison formerly stood the old French fort Toronto, of which scarcely any vestiges remain, and adjoining this situation is a deep bay which receives the river Humber. The town of York was projected to extend to a mile and a half in length, from the mouth of the harbour along its banks. The government-house, and the houses for the distinct branches of the legislature were handsome, and the view from the latter highly diversified.

Agreeably to a previous arrangement with the commodore, General Dearborn and his suite, with a force of seventeen hundred men, embarked on the 22d and 23d of April, but the prevalence of a violent storm prevented the sailing of the squadron until the 25th. On that day it moved into Lake Ontario, and having a favourable wind, arrived safely at seven o'clock on the morning of the 27th, about one mile to the westward of the ruins of Fort Toronto, and two and a half from the town of York. The execution of that part of the plan which applied immediately to the attack upon York, was confided to Colonel Pike, of the 15th regiment, who had then been promoted to the rank of a brigadier-general, and the position which had been fixed upon for landing the troops was the site of the old fort. The approach of the fleet being discovered from the enemy's garrison, General Sheaffe, the British commandant, hastily collected his whole force, consisting of upwards of seven hundred and fifty regulars and militia, and one hundred Indians, and disposed them in the best manner to resist the landing of the American force.

A body of British grenadiers were paraded on the shore, and the Glengary fencibles, a corps which had been disciplined with uncommon pains since the commencement of the war, were stationed at another point. Bodies of Indians were observed in groups in different directions, in and about the woods below the site of the fort, and numbers of horsemen were stationed in the clear ground surrounding it. These were seen moving into the town, where strong field-works had been thrown up to oppose the assailants. The Indians were taking post at stations which were pointed out to them by the British officers with great skill, from which they could annoy the Americans at the point which the water and the weather would compel them to land. Thus posted, they were to act as *tirrailleurs*. The regulars were discovered to be moving out of their works in open columns of platoons, and marching along the bank in that order into the woods.

At eight o'clock the debarkation commenced; at ten it was completed. Major Forsythe and his riflemen in several large batteaux, were in the advance. They pulled vigorously for the designated ground at the site, but were forced by a strong easterly wind a considerable distance above. The enemy being within a few feet of the water, and completely masked by the thickness of a copse, commenced a galling fire of musketry and rifle. To have fallen further from the clear ground at which he was first ordered to land, would have subjected, not only his own corps, but the whole body of the troops, to great disadvantages; and by landing at a greater distance from the town, the object of the expedition might be frustrated. Major Forsythe therefore determined upon making that part of the shore on which the enemy's principal strength was stationed, and desired his men to rest a moment on their oars, until his riflemen should return the shot.

General Pike was at this moment hastening the debarkation of the infantry, when, as he was standing on the ship's deck, he observed the pause of the boats in advance, and springing into that which had been reserved for himself and staff, he called to them to jump into the boat with him, ordered Major King of the 15th (the same who had distinguished himself in carrying

the enemy's batteries opposite Black Rock,) to follow him instantly with three companies of that regiment, and pushed for the Canadian shore. Before he reached it, Forsythe had landed and was already engaged with the principal part of the British and Indian force, under the immediate command of General Sheaffe. He contended with them nearly half an hour. The infantry under Major King, the light artillery under Major Eustis, the volunteer corps commanded by Colonel M'Clure, and about thirty men, who had been selected from the 15th at Plattsburg, trained to the rifle, and designed to act as a small corps of observation, under Lieutenant Riddle, then landed in rapid succession, and formed in platoons.

General Pike took command of the first, and ordering the whole body to prepare for a charge, led them on to the summit of the bank, from which the British grenadiers were pouring down a volley of musketry and rifle shot. The advance of the American infantry was not to be withstood, and the grenadiers yielded their position and retired in disorder. The signal of victory was at the same instant heard from Forsythe's bugles, and the sound had no sooner penetrated the ears of the Indians, than they gave a customary yell and fled in every direction. The Glengary corps then skirmished with Forsythe's, whilst a fresh body of grenadiers, supposed to have been the 8th or King's regiment, made a formidable charge upon the American column, and partially compelled it to retire. But the officers instantly rallied the troops, who returned to the ground, and impetuously charged upon, and routed the grenadiers. A reinforcement of the remainder of the 15th then arrived, with Captain Steel's platoon, and the standards of the regiment, and the Americans remained undisputed masters of the ground. A fresh front, however, was presented by the British at a distance, which gave way and retired to the garrison, as soon as the American troops were again formed, by Major King, for the charge.

The whole body of the troops being now landed, orders were given by General Pike to form in platoons, and to march in that order to the enemy's works. The first line was composed of Forsythe's riflemen, with front and flank guards; the regiments of the first brigade, with their pieces; and three platoons of

reserve, under the orders of Major Swan; Major Eustis and his train of artillery were formed in the rear of this reserve, to act where circumstances might require. The second line was composed of the 21st regiment, in six platoons, flanked by Colonel M'Clure's volunteers, divided equally as light troops, and all under the command of Colonel Ripley. Thus formed, an injunction was given to each officer, to suffer no man to load; when within a short distance of the enemy, an entire reliance would be placed on the bayonet; and the column moved on, with as much velocity as the streams and ravines which intersected the road along the lake would permit. One field-piece, and a howitzer, were with difficulty passed over one of these, the bridges of which had been destroyed, and placed at the head of the column, in charge of Lieutenant Fanning, of the 3d artillery.

As the column emerged from the woods, and came immediately in front of the enemy's first battery, two or three twenty-four-pounders were opened upon it, but without any kind of effect. The column moved on, and the enemy retreated to his second battery. The guns of the first were immediately taken, and Lieutenant Riddle, having at this moment come up with his corps, to deliver the prisoners which he had made in the woods, was ordered to proceed to take possession of the second battery, about one hundred yards ahead, the guns of which, Lieutenant Fraser, aid-de-camp to the general, reported to have been spiked by the enemy, whom he discovered retreating to the garrison. General Pike then led the column up to the second battery, where he halted to receive the captured ammunition, and to learn the strength of the garrison. But as every appearance indicated the evacuation of the barracks, he suspected the enemy of an intention to draw him within range of the shot, and then suddenly to show himself in great force. Lieutenant Riddle was sent forward with his corps of observation, to discover if there were any, and what number of troops, within the garrison.

The barracks were three hundred yards distant from the second battery, and whilst this corps was engaged in reconnoitering, General Pike, after removing a wounded prisoner from a dangerous situation, had seated himself upon a stump, and commenced an examination of a British sergeant, who had been taken in the

woods. Riddle having discovered that the enemy had abandoned the garrison, was about to return with this information, when the magazine, which was situated outside the barrack yard, blew up, with a tremendous and awful explosion, passed over Riddle and his party, without injuring one of his men, and killed and wounded General Pike, and two hundred and sixty of the column. The severity of General Pike's wounds disabled him from further service, and the command of the troops devolved upon Colonel Pearce of the 16th regiment, who sent a command to the town of York for an immediate surrender.

The plan of the contemplated operations was known only to General Pike, and, as General Dearborne had not yet landed, the future movements of the troops would depend upon the will of their new commander. He ordered them immediately to form the column, and to march forward and occupy the barracks, which Major Forsythe, who had been scouring the adjoining wood, had already entered. Meanwhile the British regulars were retreating across the Don, and destroying the bridges in their rear. After the explosion, which killed about fifty of the enemy who had not retired in time from the garrison, Lieutenant Riddle with his party, then reinforced by thirty regulars under Lieutenant Horrell of the 16th, pursued the enemy's route, and annoyed his retreating guard from the wood. This was the only pursuit which was made. Had a more vigorous push followed the abandonment of the enemy's garrison, his whole regular force must have been captured, and the accession of military stores would have been extensively great. The majority of the officers were well aware of this, and as it was known that the stores were deposited at York, they urged the necessity of an immediate approach of the whole column, to prevent their removal.

Colonel Pearce then marched towards the town, which was distant three-quarters of a mile. About half way between York and the garrison, the column was intercepted by several officers of the Canadian militia, who had come out with terms of capitulation. Whilst these were discussing, the enemy was engaged in destroying the military storehouse, and a large vessel of war then on the stocks, which in three days might have been

launched, and added to the American squadron on Lake Ontario. Forsythe, who was on the left in advance, being aware of this, despatched Lieutenant Riddle to inform Colonel Pearce. Colonel Ripley was at the same time urging a rapid march, and the troops again proceeded. Colonel Pearce enjoined the observance of General Pike's orders, that the property of the inhabitants of York should be held sacred, and that any soldier who should so far neglect the honour of his profession, as to be guilty of plundering, should, on conviction, be punished with death. At four o'clock in the afternoon, the Americans were in possession of the town, and terms of capitulation were agreed upon, by which, notwithstanding the severe loss which the army and the nation had sustained by the death of the general; the unwarrantable manner in which that loss was occasion; and the subtlety with which the militia colonels offered to capitulate at a distance from the town, so that the column might be detained until General Sheaffe should escape, and the destruction of the public property be completed, although one of its articles stipulated for its delivery into the hands of the Americans; the militia were freed from all hardship, and not only their persons and property, but their legislative hall and other public buildings were protected. The terms of capitulation were, "that the troops, regulars and militia, and the naval officers and seamen, should be surrendered prisoners of war. That all *public stores, naval and military, should be immediately* given up to the commanding officers of the army and navy of the United States, and that all private property should be guarantied to the citizens of the town of York. That all papers belonging to the civil officers should be retained by them, and that such surgeons as might be procured to attend the wounded of the British regulars and Canadian militia, should not be considered prisoners of war." Under this capitulation, one lieutenant-colonel, one major, thirteen captains, nine lieutenants, eleven ensigns, one deputy adjutant-general, and four naval officers, and two hundred and fifty-one non-commissioned officers and privates, were surrendered. The American infantry were then ordered to return to, and quarter in, the barracks, while the riflemen were stationed in the town.



Death of General Pike.



General Pike.

When General Pike's wound was discovered to be mortal, he was removed from the field, and carried to the shipping, with his wounded aids. As they conveyed him to the water's edge, a sudden exclamation was heard from the troops, which informed him of the American having supplanted the British standard in the garrison. He expressed his satisfaction by a feeble sigh, and after being transferred from the Pert schooner to the commodore's ship, he made a sign for the British flag, which had then been brought to him, to be placed under his head, and expired without a groan. Thus perished in the arms of victory, by the ungenerous stratagem of a vanquished foe, a soldier of tried valour and invincible courage;—a general of illustrious virtues and distinguished talents.

When the British general saw the American column advancing from the woods, he hastily drew up the articles of the capitulation, and directed them to be delivered to a colonel of the York militia. This colonel was instructed to negotiate the terms, after the regulars should have retreated. General Sheaffe, therefore, considered the garrison to be as much surrendered, as if

the articles had been actually agreed upon and signed. Yet he treacherously ordered a train to be laid, which it was so calculated, that the explosion of the magazine should be caused, at the time when the Americans should arrive at the barracks. Had not General Pike halted the troops at the enemy's second battery, the British plan would have attained its consummation, and the destruction of the whole column would have been the natural consequence. The train had been skilfully laid, and the combustibles arranged in a manner to produce the most dreadful effect. Five hundred barrels of powder, several cartloads of stone, and an immense quantity of iron, shells, and shot, were contained in the magazine. The calamity which followed the explosion, caused no discomfiture among the troops.

A number of their officers of high rank, and of equal worth, were either killed or wounded, and they became actuated by a desire to revenge their fall. "*Push on, my brave fellows, and avenge your general,*" were the last words of their expiring commander. They instantly gave three cheers, formed the column, and marched on rapidly. Had they been led directly to York, the issue of the expedition would have been fruitful with advantages. As it was, however, the enemy's means were crippled, his resources cut off, and the military stores of the captors, extensively multiplied. Most of the guns, munitions of war, and provisions, necessary to carry on the campaign by the enemy, had been deposited at York, and notwithstanding the firing of the principal storehouse, an immense quantity fell into the hands of the Americans. The baggage and private papers of General Sheaffe were left at York, in the precipitation of his flight, and proved to be a valuable acquisition to the American commander. These and the public stores were the only articles of capture. The conduct of the troops needed no restraint. Though their indignation was highly excited, by the circumstances of a scalp having been found suspended near the speaker's chair, in the legislative chamber, neither the ornaments of the chamber, the building itself, nor the public library, were molested. A large quantity of flour deposited in the public stores, was distributed among the inhabitants, on condition that it should be used for their own consumption; and those whose

circumstances were impoverished, were supplied with many other articles of the captured provisions. The balance was taken on board the fleet, with the naval stores, or destroyed upon the shore.

Immediately after the fall of General Pike, the commander-in-chief landed with his staff, but he did not reach the troops until they had entered York. He there made arrangements to expedite their departure for the other objects of the expedition, and they were soon after re-embarked.

The co-operation of the squadron was of the greatest importance to the attack upon the enemy's garrison. As soon as the debarkation was completed, Commodore Chauncey directed the schooner to take a position near the forts, in order that the attack of the army and navy, might if possible, be simultaneous. The larger vessels could not be brought up, and in consequence of the wind, the schooners were obliged to beat up to their intended position. This they did, under a very heavy fire from the enemy's batteries, and having taken their station within six hundred yards of the principal fort, opened a galling fire, and contributed very much to its destruction. The loss on board the squadron, was three killed and eleven wounded. Among the killed were midshipmen Thompson and Hatfield, the latter of whom, in his dying moments, had no other care than to know if he had performed his duty to his country.

In the action the loss of the American army was trifling; but in consequence of the explosion, it was much greater than the enemy's loss in killed and wounded. Fourteen were killed and thirty-two wounded in battle, and thirty-eight were killed and two hundred and twenty-two wounded by the explosion, so that the total American loss amounted to three hundred and twenty men. Among those who fell by the explosion, besides General Pike, were seven captains, seven subalterns, one aid-de-camp, one acting aid, and one volunteer aid. The enemy's loss in killed and wounded amounted to - - - - 200

Militia prisoners, - - - - - -	500
Regulars, prisoners, - - - - - -	50
Total, - - - - - - - - -	750

His wounded were left in the houses on the road leading to and in the neighbourhood of, York, and were attended to by the American army and navy surgeons. The prisoners were all paroled, and the troops withdrawn from York immediately after its capture.

The officers of the 15th greatly distinguished themselves throughout the day. The death of their gallant leader, who had personally organized that regiment, and had already successfully led detachments of it to the field, inspired them with a more determined spirit to revenge the barbarous act of a defeated enemy, than could be felt by any other corps. Animated by this desire, with hearts panting for its fulfilment, they anxiously pressed forward, and had they been permitted to pursue the retreating column of the English, under the distinguished officer (Major King) who now commmanded them, General Sheaffe and his regulars could not have effected their escape. Several platoon officers of this and the 16th regiment were killed. Captains Nicholson and Lyon by the explosion—Captain Hoppock, as his company were landing. Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell of the 3d regiment of artillery, acted as a volunteer on the expedition, and by his indefatigable exertions, at every post of danger, gave strong presages of that gallantry, by which he has since identified himself with the bravest officers of the army. Major Eustis, Captains Scott, Young, Walworth, and M'Glassin, and Stephen H. Moore of the Baltimore volunteers, who lost a leg by the explosion, and Lieutenants Fanning and Riddle, were among the most conspicuous officers of the day. The latter had been expressly selected by General Pike, from his own regiment, to command the corps of observation, and was always appointed to the most hazardous enterprises.

Lieutenant Bloomfield of the 15th, and nephew to Brigadier-General Bloomfield, was also killed. The army sustained another loss in the death of this brave young officer. The 21st regiment, under Colonel Ripley, though it formed part of the reserve, and did not participate in the action at the place of landing, was in a state of strict discipline, and manœuvered with great skill.

On the 1st day of May the Canadian territory in the neighbourhood of York, was entirely evacuated. The troops were all

placed in the vessels to which they had been respectively assigned, and a small schooner was despatched to Niagara to apprize General Morgan Lewis, then in command at that place, of the result of the expedition against York, and of the intended approach of the troops toward Fort Niagara.

But the fleet, which consisted of about seventeen sail, did not leave the harbour of York until the 8th, in consequence of the prevalence of contrary winds. Late on that day they arrived at Four Mile Creek, which empties into the lake at that distance below Fort Niagara, and thence takes its name. Here the troops were landed.

On the 9th, two schooners, under command of Lieutenant Pettigrew of the navy, were ordered to proceed to the head of Lake Ontario, with one hundred regulars, commanded by Captain Willoughby Morgan, of the 12th regiment, to destroy or capture the public stores, which were then known to be deposited there. On their arrival, the enemy's guard, of about eighty men, retired, the public buildings were destroyed by the detachment, the stores brought away, and the expedition returned on the 11th without loss.

On the 10th Commodore Chauncey sailed with the remainder of the fleet, to convey the wounded officers and men to Sackett's Harbour, and to obtain reinforcements there for the army. Between the time of his arrival at the harbour and the 22d of May, detachments of the squadron sailed on different days for Niagara, with such reinforcements as could be spared. Having directed the schooners Fair American and Pert, commanded by Lieutenants Chauncey and Adams, to remain near the harbour, and to watch the enemy's movements from Kingston, the commodore sailed on the 22d with three hundred and fifty of Colonel Macomb's regiment of artillery, and a number of additional guns, and arrived at the Niagara on the 25th. Arrangements were immediately made between Commodore Chauncey and General Dearborn, for an attack upon Fort George and its dependencies.

On the 26th the commodore reconnoitered the position at which the troops were to be landed, and at night sounded the shore, and placed buoys at stations for the small vessels. The weather, which had been for several days extremely boisterous, now moderated,

and it was agreed that a conjoint attack, by the army and navy, should be made on the following morning. A sufficient quantity of boats, to land the troops in the order of attack, had been by this time provided, and a considerable number which had been for several days building at the Five Mile Meadows, above the fort, were now in readiness to be launched into the Niagara river.

On the afternoon of the 26th, the enemy, having observed the preparations for launching the boats, opened a small battery, which had been erected immediately opposite the Meadows, for the purpose of annoying the workmen and of destroying the boats. The fire from this battery produced a premature cannonade between Forts George and Niagara, which was followed by a bombardment between all the batteries in the neighbourhood of the two forts. The battery which stood directly opposite Fort George, did great injury to that garrison, and its guns were directed with such precision that the halyards of the enemy's flag staff were shot away. No block house or wooden building of any description, in or near that fort, escaped injury; whilst on the American side, not the most trifling loss was sustained. The boats, in the mean time, succeeded in passing Fort George, and proceeded to the encampment at Four Mile creek.

On the same night all the artillery, and as many troops as could possibly be accommodated, were put on board the Madison, the Oneida, and the Lady of the Lake. The remainder were to embark in the boats, and to follow the fleet. At three o'clock on the morning of the 27th, signal was made for the fleet to weigh anchor. In consequence of the calmness of the weather, the schooners were obliged to resort to sweeps to attain their positions; which they did in the following order—Sailing-masters Trant, in the Julia, and Mix, in the Growler, took their stations at the mouth of the river, and silenced a battery, which, from its situation, commanded the shore where the troops were to land, about one-fourth of a mile below the town of Newark. Mr. Stevens in the Ontario, took a position to the north of the light-house, near which this battery was erected, and so close to the shore as to enfilade the battery, and cross the fire of the Julia and Growler. Lieutenant Brown in the Governor Tompkins, stationed himself near the Two Mile creek, on the enemy's side, where a

battery had been erected of one heavy gun. Lieutenant Pettigrew in the conquest, anchored to the south-east of the same battery, opened on it in the rear, and crossed the fire of the Governor Tompkins. Lieutenant M'Pherson in the Hamilton, Lieutenant Smith in the Asp, and Sailing-Master Osgood in the Scourge, took stations near the above, to cover the landing and to scour the woods and the plain. This disposition was skilfully effected, and each vessel was within musket-shot of the shore.

At four o'clock, Generals Dearborn and Lewis, with their suites, went on board the Madison, and by that hour the troops were all embarked. The whole number amounted to more than four thousand. The batteries were now playing upon each other from the opposite sides of the river, and the troops advanced at intervals in three brigades. The advance was led by Colonel Scott. It was composed of the artillery acting as infantry; of Forsythe's riflemen; and of detachments from infantry regiments; and landed near the fort, which had been silenced by the Governor Tompkins.

General Boyd, to whom the late General Pike's brigade had been assigned, commanded the first line, which was flanked by Colonel M'Clure's Baltimore and Albany volunteers. This brigade struck the enemy's shore immediately after the advance had landed. The second brigade under General Winder, followed next, and then the third under General Chandler. While the troops were crossing the lake in this order, the wind suddenly sprang up very fresh from the eastward, and caused a heavy sea directly on the shore; the boats could not therefore be got off to land the troops from the Madison and Oneida before the first and second brigades had advanced, and Macomb's regiment, and the marines under Captain Smith, did not reach the shore until the debarkation of these brigades had been completed.

When the advance, which consisted of about five hundred men, was approaching the point of landing, successive volleys of musketry were poured upon it by twelve hundred regulars, who were stationed in a ravine. A brisk exchange of shot was kept up for fifteen minutes; the advance, nevertheless, continuing to approach the enemy without faltering. Such, indeed, was the eagerness of the troops, that officers and men jumped

into the lake and waded to the shore. Captain Hindman of the 2d artillery, was the first man upon the enemy's territory. The troops were now formed with celerity, and led to the charge. They drove the enemy from their strong hold, and dispersed them in every direction; some of their forces taking to the wood for shelter, and others retreating to the fort. The former were vigorously pursued by Forsythe's riflement, and the latter by the advance corps, and the first brigade. Few shot were fired from the fort, the panic being instantly communicated to the garrison. Fort Niagara and its dependent batteries were still throwing in their shot, and Fort George having become untenable, the enemy hastily laid a train to the magazines, abandoned all their works, and moved off with the utmost precipitation in different routes. Colonel Scott with his light troops continued the pursuit, until he was recalled by an order from General Boyd. Lieutenant Riddle had been sent by Colonel Scott with his detached party, to annoy the rear of the enemy, but not being ordered back, at the time when the light troops were recalled, he followed his route to Queenstown, and took up several of his straggling parties. The dragoons under Colonel Burn, crossed the Niagara river above Fort George, at the moment the pursuit was stopped. The light troops now took possession of Fort George; Colonel Scott, and Captains Hindman and Stockton, with their companies, entering first and extinguishing the fires, which were intended to explode the magazine: one had, however, already been blown up. General Boyd and Colonel Scott mounted the parapet, and cut away the staff, whilst Captain Hindman succeeding in taking the flag which the enemy had left flying, and which he forwarded to General Dearborn. The American ensign was then hoisted in the town and fort, and all the troops were called in and quartered. At twelve o'clock Newark, and all its surrounding batteries, were in quiet possession of the American army—and such was the speed with which the enemy retreated, that very few of his troops were overtaken. General Dearborn's forces had been under arms eleven hours, and were too much exhausted to pursue him with as much rapidity as he moved off.

At the time the enemy abandoned his works, the wind had



Capture of Fort George.

increased so much and the sea had become so violent toward the shores that the situation of the fleet at the stations which the different vessels had taken, was thought to be dangerous in the extreme. Commodore Chauncey therefore made signal for the whole fleet to weigh, and to proceed into the river, where they anchored between the Forts George and Niagara. Although the action was fought by inferior numbers on the American side, the advance, and part of Boyd's brigade only being engaged, the loss of the enemy was excessive. He had in killed one hundred and eight, in wounded one hundred and sixty-three, one hundred and fifteen regulars were taken prisoners, exclusive of his wounded, all of whom fell into the hands of the Americans. So that the loss of the enemy in killed, wounded, and prisoners, of his regular force, amounted to three hundred and eighty-six. The militia prisoners who were paroled to the number of five hundred and seven, being added to their loss, makes a total of eight hundred and ninety-three. The American army lost thirty-nine in killed, and one hundred and eleven in wounded. Among the former only one officer, Lieutenant Hobart of the light artillery. Among the latter were Major King of the 15th, Captain Arrowsmith of the 6th, Captain Steele of the 16th, Captain Roach of the 23d, (who had been wounded at the battle of Queenstown heights, and was promoted to the rank of captain for his good conduct there,) and Lieutenant Swearingen of Forsythe's riflemen. The British 49th (Invincibles) was in this action, and Colonel Myers, who commanded it, was wounded and taken prisoner.

In speaking of the conduct of the soldiers and seamen, both General Dearborn and Commodore Chauncey alleged that all behaved too well to suffer the election of any one for commendation. The former, however, in a second despatch to the war department, stated that the whole of the officers and men discovered that readiness and ardour for action, which evinced a determination to do honour to themselves and their country—that the animating examples set by General Boyd and Colonel Scott, deserved particular mention, and that he, the commander-in-chief, was greatly indebted to Colonel M. Porter, of the light artillery; to Major Armistead, of the 3d regiment of artillery;

and to Captain Totten, of the engineers, for their skilful execution, in demolishing the enemy's forts and batteries. Lieutenant-commandant Oliver H. Perry had joined the squadron on the night of the 25th, volunteered his services in the contemplated attack, and rendered great assistance in arranging and superintending the debarkation of the troops. On board the squadron, the loss was one killed and two wounded. Commodore Chauncey was indefatigable in his co-operations with the army, in all its important movements. In this affair many of the advantages which were obtained, were to be attributed to his judicious plan of silencing the enemy's batteries. General Dearborn had been confined for several days by a violent indisposition; but he refused to yield the command of the expedition, and issued his orders regularly from his bed.

Captain Perry was despatched to Black Rock the day after the battle, with fifty seamen to take five vessels to Lake Erie as soon as possible, and to prepare the whole squadron for the service by the 15th of June. Two brigs had been launched at Erie, and two or three small schooners, had been purchased into the service. The squadron was daily expected to be in readiness to proceed to Presque isle, to co-operate with the north-western army.

On the 28th, General Dearborn having received information that the enemy had made a stand on the mountain, at a place called Beaver Dam, where he had a deposit of provisions and stores; and that he had been joined by three hundred regulars from Kingston, landed from small vessels, at the head of the lake, immediately ordered General Lewis to march to that place, with Chandler's and Winder's brigades, the light artillery, dragoons, and riflemen, to cut off his retreat. Although the enemy's troops from Fort Erie and Chippewa, had joined his main body at Beaver Dam, he precipitately broke up his encampment on the approach of the Americans, and fled along the mountains to the head of the lake. General Lewis's army moved on, and took possession of the different posts between Fort George and Fort Erie, the latter of which was entered by Lieutenant-Colonel Preston, of the 15th, in the evening of that day; the post having been previously abandoned, and the magazines blown up

by the enemy. Two days before, the Queen Charlotte, and three others, of the enemy's vessels, came down to that fort, but on hearing of the capture of Fort George, they proceeded up the lake to Malden.

The enemy, having abandoned all his positions along the Niagara, General Lewis returned with his division to Fort George; but as it was rumoured that General Proctor intended to march from the north-western frontier, to join General Vincent, who had already marched from that place; and to retrieve the misfortunes of the British arms, it became necessary to press forward with a force competent to prevent the union of the British generals, or at least to intercept them in their contemplated route. General Winder was, therefore, despatched on the 1st day of June, with his own brigade and one regiment of General Chandler's. He was followed on the 3d, by the remainder of Chandler's brigade, the drâgoons and artillery, under the orders of that general, to whom the chief command was assigned. They proceeded to the Forty Mile Creek, where they gained intelligence of General Vincent's having taken a stand Burlington Heights, near Stony Creek, being about forty-eight miles distant from the Fort George.

In the vicinity of Stony Creek the Americans encamped; but in so careless a manner that they were surprised by the enemy at midnight, and several of their principal officers made prisoners. General Vincent, it has been supposed, became possessed of the American countersign—and having discovered that the weakest part of the camp was its centre, he made an attack upon it, at that point, at two o'clock on the morning of the 6th. Profiting by the example of the Americans at York, he ordered that no musket should be loaded, lest a precipitate fire might apprize his unsuspecting enemy of his advance, and led up the 8th or King's regiment, and the 49th, with fixed bayonets, to charge upon the sentinels.

The American advanced guard, under command of Captain Van Vechton, were first alarmed by the groan of a dying sentinel, and were surprised and made prisoners. Five pieces of light artillery, near the front were captured, and turned upon the encampment, before the alarm became general. The two

brigadiers, Chandler and Winder, who had but an hour before separated from a council, were instantly mounted, and the men formed with as much facility as the extreme darkness of the morning would permit. General Chandler took post in the rear of the left flank of the right wing—General Winder commanded the left wing. Such was the momentary confusion which prevailed, that the contending parties could not distinguish each other. When the five pieces of artillery were fired into the encampment, Generals Chandler and Winder both rode up to the battery, to prevent another discharge, under an impression that the American troops had mistaken the enemy. They were both consequently captured.

The other officers were ignorant of the loss of their generals, and each chose his own plan of resisting the assailing party. The advanced corps, the 5th, 25th, and part of the 23d, were engaged; those in the rear did not get to the assistance of the front. The 16th, which because of the illness of its colonel, and the absence of its lieutenant-colonel, and other field-officers, was commanded by Captain Steel, was forming on its standards, when the cavalry, under Colonel Burn, having cut their way through the British 49th, with such impetuosity, that they could not stop, pierced through the centre of that regiment. The confusion increased. The different companies of the 16th, were firing on each other; the artillery were engaging the infantry; and the cavalry the artillery; each corps being under an impression, that it was contending with the enemy.

This state of things continued, until Captain Towson opened his artillery, which, being stationed more in the rear than any of the other pieces, he brought against the enemy with such effect, that the confusion and disorder, which had taken place in the American lines, prevailed also within the British. The companies of the 2d artillery, which were then acting as light corps, under Captains Hindman, Nicholas, Biddle, and Archer, kept up an incessant fire, until the dawn of the day enabled the troops to distinguish each other. An attempt was then made to form the line, Colonel Burn now commanding.

The 5th regiment, which had been annoying the enemy from the commencement of the action until daybreak, did not lose



Battle of Stony Creek.

one man, and was found at that time formed in line. and sustained on its left flank by part of the 23d, under Major Armstrong. The firing from the encampment became brisk, and irresistible. The enemy gave way, rallied, and broke again. The dragoons charged upon, and completely routed them. They fled in every direction, and their commanding officer was missing before day. His horse and accoutrements were found upon the ground. He was discovered by his own people, in the course of the same day, almost famished, at a distance of four miles from the scene of action.

Several desperate efforts had been made, before the enemy fled, to take the artillery. Lieutenant Machesney's gallantry recovered one piece, and prevented the capture of others. Lieutenant M'Donough of the 2d artillery, pursued a retreating party, and recovered another. The good conduct of these brave young men, as well as that of Captains Hindman, Nicholas, Archer, Steele, and Leonard, of the light artillery, has been spoken of in general orders, in terms of strong commendation. Colonel Burn and Colonel Milton, gallantly distinguished themselves, and were said to have saved the army.

The American loss in this affair was sixteen killed, thirty-eight wounded, and two brigadier-generals, one major, three captains, and ninety four men missing; making in all, one hundred and fifty-four. The whole of the missing fell into the hands of the enemy—whose loss was excessively severe, but particularly in officers. One hundred prisoners, mostly of the 49th, were captured, and transported to Fort George. Captain Manners, of that regiment, was taken in his bed, by Lieutenant Riddle, who, from a principle of humanity, put him on his parole, on condition of his not serving the enemy, until he should be exchanged. An engagement which that officer violated by appearing in arms against the American troops, immediately after the recovery of his health.

In the course of the morning, the British sent a flag of truce. to obtain permission to bury their dead, and to remove their wounded. The latter, however, had been placed in the neighbouring houses, under the care of the American surgeons, and the army having given up the pursuit of the enemy, had fallen

back to Forty Mile Creek, being about ten miles in the rear of the field of battle. Here it encamped, on a plain of a mile in width, its right flank on the lake, its left on a creek, skirting the base of a perpendicular mountain, and was joined on the same evening, by a detachment of the 6th and 15th regiments, and a park of artillery under Colonel James Miller. On the 7th, Generals Lewis and Boyd arrived at the encampment, and the former assumed the command.

Intelligence had been immediately forwarded by General Vincent, to Sir James L. Yeo, then commanding the British fleet on Lake Ontario, of the affair at Stony Creek, and of the position at which the Americans had encamped. In the evening of the 7th, the fleet appeared within sight of the encampment. Its character was not known, however; but lest an attack might be again made upon the army in the night, the troops were ordered to lay on their arms. At daylight, on the 8th, the enemy's squadron were stationed abreast of the encampment, and within one mile of the shore. A large schooner was warped in, and opened her fire on the boats, which had been employed to trans port the American baggage, and which at that time lay upon the beach. Captains Archer and Towson, were ordered down, with four pieces of artillery, to resist her attempts to destroy the boats, and Captain Totten, of the engineers, prepared a temporary furnace, for heating shot, and had it in operation in less than half an hour. The fire of the schooner was then returned with such vivacity and effect, that she was very soon obliged to retire

At this moment, a party of Indians showed themselves upon the brow of the mountain, and commenced a fire on the camp. General Lewis despatched a party from the 13th regiment, under Colonel Christie, to dislodge them, but that service was performed by his adjutant, Lieutenant Eldridge, who seeing the necessity of driving off the Indians, had gallantly gained the summit of the mountain, with a few volunteers, without orders, and repulsed the enemy before Colonel Christie could reach that point. Sir James then demanded the surrender of the army, on the ground of its having a fleet in its front, a body of savages in its rear, and a powerful army of British regulars on its flanks. To this demand it was deemed unnecessary to make a reply: but

as General Dearborn had sent an express to call the troops to Fort George, upon seeing the British fleet pass that post, General Lewis prepared to retire in obedience to this order. The camp equipage and baggage were placed in the boats, and were ordered to proceed to Fort George, under protection of Colonel Miller's command, which was competent to resist any attack which might be made—but they put from the shore before the detachment came up; and after proceeding about five miles, were dispersed by an armed schooner of the enemy. Twelve of them fell into the hands of the British squadron, and the remainder either escaped, or ran ashore, and were deserted by their crews. At ten o'clock the encampment was broken up, and the troops took up their march for Fort George, having the enemy's Indians on their flank until they arrived within a short distance of the garrison.

The British fleet continued to cruise in the neighbourhood of the Niagara, and intercepted the supplies for the American army. Two vessels, having each a valuable cargo of hospital stores, were chased into Eighteen Mile Creek, and after making a short but obstinate resistance, were carried by boarding, and the stores immediately transferred to the enemy's vessels. A party of seventy-five men had been forwarded by General Lewis to repel the enemy's attack, but did not reach the place in time to prevent the capture.

The official account given by General Vincent of the surprise of the encampment, claims a decisive and brilliant victory on the side of the British; and announces that the whole body of the American troops had been resolutely driven from the field; but the same general was known to have abandoned the command of the enterprise as soon as the alarm was given in General Chandler's encampment, and to have consigned its execution to Lieutenant-Colonel Harvey and Majors Ogilvie and Plenderleath, each of whom acknowledged a numerous loss of their most valuable officers and men. General Vincent's report to his government could not, therefore, have been given on his own responsibility. On whatever side the victory may have been gained, however, great want of knowledge in military movements had been previously betrayed by the officers who succeeded to the command

of the American forces at Little York and Fort George, in suffering a beaten enemy to escape from each of those places. At the former General Sheaffe and his regulars effected a retreat through the palpable tardiness of the victorious army. At the latter, the same troops which attacked the encampment at Stony Creek, were so closely pressed that they must inevitably have been captured, had not the light troops, under Adjutant-General Scott and Colonel Miller, been called in from the pursuit. The result of these errors was fruitful with the most evil consequences. The recapture of all the important posts on the British Niagara, which had been taken at the expense of so much blood, and the destruction of the garrisons on the American side of that river, which happened not many months after, were among the least pernicious of a long train of disasters. A development which can only be produced by the gradual lapse of time may enable a future historian to throw the censure on the proper objects. No discovery has yet been made which will allow the present recorder of these events to form any other idea than that which is founded on uncertainty and conjecture, which do not go to the constitution of such an authentic history of the war, as it has been his utmost endeavour to compile.

Whilst the troops were preparing to embark at York for the expedition against Fort George, the British at Kingston having gained intelligence of their absence from Sackett's Harbour, of the batteries at that place having been principally dismantled, and of the smallness of the force which had been left for its protection, hastily collected all their disposables and embarked on board their fleet under the command of Sir George Prevost. The fleet was commanded by Sir James Yeo. On the night of the 27th of May, five hours after the capture of Fort George, the British appeared off the entrance to the harbour. The American force consisted of two hundred invalids, and two hundred and fifty dragoons, then newly arrived from a long and fatiguing march. Two small vessels, under Lieutenant Chauncey, were stationed at its mouth and gave instant signals of alarm at the approach of the British squadron. Expresses were immediately forwarded to General Brown, then at his seat eight miles from



Defense of Sackett's Harbour.

the harbour, and he immediately repaired thither to take the command.

The tour of duty of the militia of his brigade had expired many weeks before, but he had been requested by General Dearborn to take command of the harbour at any time when the enemy should approach it, and to provide for its defense. Immediately on his arrival dispositions were made to that effect. The movements of the enemy indicated his intention to land on the peninsula called Horse island. General Brown, therefore, determined on resisting him at the water's edge with the Albany volunteers, under Colonel Mills, and such militia as could be instantly col lected. Alarm guns were therefore fired, and expresses sent out for that purpose. Lieutenant-Colonel Backus, of the 1st regi

ment United States dragoons, who commanded at Sackett's Harbour in the absence of the officers who had proceeded to Fort George, was to form a second line with the regulars. The regular artillerists were stationed in Fort Tompkins, and the defense of Navy Point was committed to Lieutenant Chauncey.

On the 28th, the Wolfe, the Royal George, the Prince Regent, the Earl of Moira, and one brig, two schooners, and two gun boats, with thirty-three flat bottomed boats and barges, containing in all twelve hundred troops, appeared in the offing, at five miles distance. They were standing their course for the harbour, when, having discovered a fleet of American barges, coming round Stony Point, with troops from Oswego, the whole of their boats were immediately despatched to cut them off. They succeeded in taking twelve of them, after they had been run on shore and abandoned by their crews, who arrived at the harbour in the night. The remainder, seven in number, escaped from their pursuers, and got safely in.

The British commanders, being then under an impression that other barges would be sailing from Oswego, stood into South Bay, and despatched their armed boats to waylay them. In this they were disappointed; and during the delay which was caused by this interruption of their intended operations, the militia from the neighbouring counties collected at the harbour, and betrayed great eagerness to engage in the contest with the invading enemy. They were ordered to be stationed on the water side, near the island on which Colonel Mills was posted with his volunteers. The strength at that point was nearly five hundred men. But the whole force, including the regulars, effectives, and invalids, did not exceed one thousand.

The plan of defense had been conceived with great skill, and if the conduct of the militia had proved to be consistent with their promises, it would have been executed with equal ability. Disposed of as the forces were, in the event of General Brown's being driven from his position at Horse Island, Colonel Backus was to advance with his reserve of regulars, and meet the head of the enemy's column, whilst the general would rally his corps, and fall upon the British flanks. If resistance to the attack of the enemy should still fail, Lieutenant Chauncey was

the stores at Navy Point, and to retire with his two schooners, and the prize schooner, the Duke of Gloucester, which had been a few weeks before captured from the enemy, to the south shore of the bay, and east of Fort Volunteer. In this fort the regulars and militia were to shut themselves up, and make a vigorous stand, as their only remaining resort. Every thing being thus ordered, General Brown directed his defensive army to lay upon their arms, whilst he continued personally to reconnoiter the shores of the harbour, during the whole night of the 28th. At the only favourable point of landing, he had caused a breastwork to be thrown up, and a battery *en barbette*, to be erected. Behind this most of the militia were stationed.

At the dawn of the 29th, the enemy was discovered with his vessels drawn up in line, between Horse Island and Stony Point; and in a few minutes all his boats and barges approached the shore under cover of his gun-boats, those being the heaviest of his vessels, which, in consequence of the lightness of the wind could be brought up. The troops with which the boats were filled, were commanded by Sir George Prevost in person. Commodore Yeo directed the movements of the barges. General Brown instantly issued his orders, that the troops should lie close, and reserve their fire until the enemy should have approached so near that every shot might take effect. This order was executed, and the fire was so destructive, that the enemy's advance boats were obliged to make a temporary pause, and numbers of their officers and men were seen to fall.

Encouraged by the desired effect of the first fire, the militia loaded their pieces with the utmost quickness, and the artillery was ordered to be opened at the moment of their second. But, before the second round had been completely discharged, the whole body of the militia, none of whom had ever seen an enemy until now, and who were entirely unaccustomed to subordination, though they were well protected by the breastwork, rose from behind it, and abandoning those honourable promises of noble daring which they had made but a little while before, they fled with equal precipitation and disorder. A strange and unaccountable panic seized the whole line, and with the exception of a very few, terror and dismay were depicted in every countenance

Colonel Mills, vainly endeavouring to rally his men, was killed as he was reminding them of the solemn pledges which they had given; but the fall of this brave officer served rather to increase their confusion than to actuate them to revenge it.

General Brown seeing that his plan was already frustrated, and fearing his inability to execute any other, without the vigorous co-operation of the militia, hastened to intercept their retreat, and finding one company of about one hundred men, who had been rallied by the active and zealous conduct of Captain M'Nitt of that corps, he brought them up and ordered them to form in line with the regulars and volunteers who had continued to keep their ground.

In the interval which had thus elapsed, the enemy had effected his debarkation with little opposition, and drawing up his whole force on Horse island, he commenced his march for the village; on the road to which he was met by a small party of infantry, under Major Aspinwall, and a few dismounted dragoons under Major Laval, who opposed him with much gallantry. Two of the gun-boats ranged up the shore and covered the field with grape. This handful of troops then gradually retired in good order from an immense superiority of numbers, and occupied the intervals between the barracks.



IEUTENANT-COLONEL BACKUS, with his reserve of regulars, first engaged the enemy, when the militia company of Captain M'Nitt was formed on his flank, and in the vigorous fight which then followed, this company behaved with as much gallantry as the bravest of the regulars. The whole force was compelled to fall back, however, by the superior strength of the enemy's column, and resorting to the barracks for what shelter they could afford, they posted themselves in the unprotected log-houses and kept up an incessant and effective fire. From these, the most violent assaults, and the repeated and varying efforts of the British were incompetent to dislodge them. Colonel Gray, the quartermaster-general of the enemy's forces, advanced to the weakest part of the barracks at the head of a column of regulars, and after ex-



South-east view of Sackett's Harbour.

changing shots with an inferior party of militia and regulars, led his men on to the assault. A small boy, who was a drummer in Major Aspinwall's corps, seized a musket and leveling it at the colonel, immediately brought him to the ground. At that moment Lieutenant Fanning of the artillery, who had been so severely wounded by the explosion at Little York, and was yet considered to be unable to do any kind of duty, leaned upon his piece whilst it was drawn up, and having given it the proper elevation, discharged three rounds of grape into the faces of the enemy, who immediately fell back in disorder. At this instant Lieutenant-Colonel Backus fell severely wounded.

Whilst the battle was raging with its greatest violence, information was brought to Lieutenant Chauncey of the intention of the American forces to surrender. He therefore, in conformity to his previous orders relating to such an event, fired the navy barracks, and destroyed all the property and public stores which had previously belonged to the harbour, as well as the provisions and equipments which had been brought from York. The destruction of these buildings, and the conflagration which was thence produced, was thought to have been caused by the troops of the enemy, and although the undisciplined militia and volunteers, and the invalid regulars, were suspicious of being placed between the fire of two divisions of the enemy, they continued to fight on regardless of their inferiority, or the consequences of their capture.

General Brown was all this time actively superintending the operations of his little army. He now determined on making a diversion in its favour, which, if it should be successful, would be the only means of saving the place, or of relieving his exhausted troops. Having learned that the militia who had fled from their stations in the early part of the engagement had not yet entirely dispersed, and that they were still within a short distance of the scene of action, he hastened to exhort them to imitate the conduct of their brave brethren in arms. He reproached them with shameful timidity, and ordered them instantly to form and follow him, and threatened with instant death the first man who should refuse. His order was obeyed with alacrity. He then attempted a stratagem by which to deceive the enemy with regard to the



Retreat of the British from Sackett's Harbour.

forces against which he was contending. Silently passing through a distant wood which led toward the place at which the enemy had landed, General Brown persuaded the British general of his intention to gain the rear of his forces, to take possession of the boats and effectually to cut off their retreat.

This was done with such effect, at the moment when the fire of Lieutenant Fanning's piece had caused the destruction in the British line, that General Sir George Prevost was well convinced of the vast superiority of the American force to his own. He gave up all thoughts of the capture of the place, and hurrying to his boats, put off immediately to the British squadron. He was not pursued, because if the real number of the American troops had been exposed to his view, he would have returned to the contest,

might easily have outflanked, and in all human probability would still have captured the army and the village.

But the precipitation of his flight was such, that he left not only the wounded bodies of his ordinary men upon the field, but those of the dead and wounded of his most distinguished officers. Among these were Quartermaster-General Gray, Majors Moodie and Evans, and three captains. The return of his loss, as accurately as it has been ascertained, amounted to three field officers, one captain, and twenty-five rank and file found dead on the field; two captains and twenty rank and file found wounded; and two captains, one ensign, and thirty-two rank and file made prisoners. In addition to which, many were killed in the boats, and numbers had been carried away previously to the retreat. The loss of the Americans was greater in proportion, as the number of their men engaged were less. One colonel of volunteers, twenty regulars, privates, and one volunteer private were killed; one lieutenant-colonel, three lieutenants, and one ensign of the regulars, and seventy-nine non-commissioned officers and privates were wounded; and twenty-six non-commissioned officers and privates were missing. Their aggregate loss was one hundred and ten regulars, twenty-one volunteers, and twenty-five militia; making a total of one hundred and fifty-six. It was severe, because of the worth, more than of the number of those who fell. The injury in public stores sustained at Sackett's Harbour, though not by any act of the invading enemy, was extensive; but the gallantry of several individuals prevented its being more so. Lieutenant Chauncey was no sooner apprized of the error of the report which had been brought to him, than he made every exertion to save as much of the public property as it was possible to rescue from the increasing conflagration, and to that effect he ran the Fair American and the Pert up the river. The new frigate, the General Pike, which was then on the stocks, was saved; and Lieutenant Talman, of the army, at the imminent risk of his life, boarded the prize schooner the Duke of Gloucester, which was then on fire with a considerable quantity of powder in her hold, extinguished the fire and brought her from under the flames of the storehouses.

Notwithstanding this signal repulse, the British commanding

officers attempted to play off the stratagem which Sir James Yeo afterwards adopted at the Forty Mile Creek. They sent in a flag with a peremptory demand for the formal surrender of the post, which was as peremptorily refused. After a forced march of forty miles in one day, Lieutenant-Colonel Tuttle had arrived with his command of about six hundred men, just as the British were retreating to their boats, and was therefore too late to participate in the action. Other reinforcements were continually expected, and the harbour would be in a situation to make a more vigorous, though not perhaps, a more brilliant defense. The return of the enemy, even under the advantages of more favourable winds, was, therefore, not looked for with any apprehension. A second flag was received by General Brown, accompanied by a request that the killed and wounded of the British might be treated with respect. In answer to which, the most satisfactory assurances of compliance were given.

After being compelled to relinquish the further prosecution of an expedition, having for its primary object the capture and destruction of a post, the permanent possession of which only could give to the Americans any hope of a superiority on Lake Ontario; after having succeeded in his enterprise in a degree which scarcely deserves to be termed partial; and after being obliged, by the predominance of his apprehension over his bravery and foresight, to retire from the assault and precipitately to leave his dead and wounded to the mercy of his enemy, General Sir George Prevost issued an official account to the people of Canada, and forwarded despatches to his government, in each of which he laid claim to a brilliant and unparalleled victory, and alleged that he had reluctantly ordered his troops to leave a beaten enemy whom he had driven before him for three hours, because the co-operation of the fleet and army could not be effected.

General Brown's stratagem had so far succeeded in deceiving him, that he reported the woods to have been filled with infantry and field-pieces, from which an incessant, heavy and destructive fire had been kept up, by a numerous and almost invisible foe, more than quadruple in numbers to the detachments which had been taken from the garrison at Kingston; and that his loss was, nevertheless, very far inferior to that of his antagonist. Private

letters, however, which were, about the same time, written from officers of these detachments, after relating that Colonel Gray and two other officers had been killed, and that Majors Evans, Drummond, and Moodie, and several captains and subalterns had been wounded, admitted that their total loss amounted to upwards of one hundred and fifty.

Had the result of the expedition against Sackett's Harbour assimilated itself to that character of unparalleled brilliancy, which would have entitled it to the encomiums of its commander, and to the warmest admiration of the British nation, its effects would have been long and deplorably felt by the American government. Immense quantities of naval and military stores, which had been from time to time collected at that depot; the frames and timbers which had been prepared for the construction of vessels of war, and the rigging and armaments which had been forwarded thither for their final equipment, as well as all the army clothing, camp equipage, provisions, ammunitions, and implements of war, which had been previously captured from the enemy, would have again fallen into his hands. The destruction of the batteries, the ship then on the stocks, the extensive cantonments, and the public arsenal, would have retarded the building of another naval force, and that which was already on the lake in separate detachments, could have been intercepted, in its attempt to return, and might have been captured in detail. The prize vessel which was then lying in the harbour, and which had been taken by the Americans, and the two United States' schooners, would have been certainly recaptured, and the whole energies of the American government, added to their most vigorous and unwearied struggles, might never again have attained any prospect of an ascendency on the lake. As it proved, however, all these impending evils were repelled, and the wisdom of the commanding officer, and the invincible firmness of those of his troops, who withstood the brunt of the action, converted that event into a splendid victory, which would otherhave been an irretrievable disaster.



CHAPTER X.

Operations on the Niagara Frontier.



THE increasing indisposition of General Dearborn having rendered him unfit for active duty, he resigned the command of the northern army, and retired to his residence. General Lewis had repaired to Sackett's Harbour, to act in concert with Commodore Chauncey, who had returned to that place, and was making active preparations to restore the batteries and buildings to their former condition. The command of Fort George and the dependencies of that place and Fort Niagara, devolved on General Boyd.

On the 14th of June, Lieutenant Chauncey was ordered to proceed in the Lady of the Lake, to cruise off Presque isle, and to intercept the enemy's transport vessels. On the 16th he fell in with, and captured the British schooner the Lady Murray, then bound from Kingston to York, with an English ensign, and fifteen non-commissioned officers and privates. She was loaded with provisions, powder, shot, and fixed ammunition, and was brought into Sackett's Harbour on the 18th. Her crew consisted of six men.

On the same day the British fleet appeared before the town of Sodus, on the bay of that name, which is formed on the American side of Lake Ontario, between Gennessee and Oswego

rivers. General Burnet, of the New York militia, suspecting that they intended to land their troops, and capture a quantity of provisions, ordered out a regiment from the county of Ontario. The militia collected in great haste, and arrived at Sodus on the following morning. But the enemy, well knowing that his appearance would excite the alarm of the inhabitants, drew off his forces until their apprehensions should be subsided, and reappeared in the evening of the 19th, a few hours after the militia had been discharged.

In contemplation of his return, the inhabitants had removed all the public stores from the buildings on the water's edge, to a small distance in the woods, and on the reappearance of the hostile squadron, a second alarm was immediately given, and expresses sent after the discharged militia, which overtook and brought them back, with a large reinforcement. Before their return, the enemy had landed, and finding that the provisions had been removed, they set fire to all the valuable buildings in the town, and destroyed most of the private property of every description. They then agreed to stipulate with the inhabitants, to desist from destroying the remaining houses, on condition of their surrendering the flour and provisions, which they knew had been deposited at that place. These articles were then not more than two hundred yards from the village, yet the enemy did not choose to attempt their capture, lest he might be drawn into an ambuscade; but he threatened the entire destruction of every house in the town, if they were not immediately delivered over to him. The appearance of the militia prevented the execution of this threat, and the enemy immediately returned to his shipping, and moved up the lake on the following morning.

On the 20th of June the whole fleet approached Oswego, and made several attempts to land their troops, but they returned each time to their shipping, upon seeing that the troops at that place were prepared to meet them. The American force at that time consisted of eight hundred militia and a small party of regulars, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Carr, by whose skilful management the enemy were persuaded that the port was garrisoned by a numerous body of troops, and they became extremely cautious in their operations. Fearful of being over

powered, they relinquished their intention of landing, and with drew from before the place. Lieutenant Wolsey, of the Oneida and other naval officers and seamen, were at Oswego, and had previously removed the stores from that place to Sackett's Harbour. The fleet then proceeded to the neighbourhood of Fort George, were it lay for several days.

A FEW days previous to the departure of General Dearborn from that post, a body of the enemy had collected on a high ground about eight miles from Queenstown, for the purpose of procuring supplies and of harassing those inhabitants who were considered to be friendly to the United States. On the 28th, a party of troops, consisting of five hundred infantry, a squadron of dragoons, a company of New York mounted volunteers, and Captain M'Dowell's corps of light artillery, being in all about six hundred men, under command of Colonel Bœrstler, were detached from the American encampment at Fort George for the purpose of cutting off the supplies of the enemy, and of breaking up their encampment at the Beaver Dams. The British force which was stationed there was composed of one company of the 104th regiment, about two hundred militia, and sixty Indians, amounting to three hundred and forty men.

At about eight o'clock on the morning of the 24th, nine miles west of Queenstown, the American detachment was attacked from an ambuscade. The action commenced with the dragoons, who were placed in the rear. The infantry was instantly brought into a position to return the enemy's fire to advantage, and very soon after drove them a considerable distance into the woods. The Indians then made a circuitous route, appeared in front, and opened a fire upon the mounted riflemen who were stationed there. They were immediately repulsed and again retired to the woods. Every attempt was then made to draw them into the open ground, but without effect. A few of the boldest of them ventured from their lurking-places, but were immediately compelled to fly to them again for shelter. The enemy's force was

now continually augmenting, and he was every instant gaining a superiority. A retreat was then ordered for a short distance, which was effected with trifling loss. Colonel Bœrstler, suspecting that he was surrounded by a very superior and numerous force, despatched an express to General Dearborn for reinforcements, and informed him of his intention to maintain his position until they should arrive. Colonel Christie was ordered to proceed immediately with the 15th regiment and a company of artillery to the support of Colonel Bœrstler, but he had not proceeded farther than Queenstown when he was informed that the latter had surrendered his detachment.

The express had scarcely been forwarded when Lieutenant Fitzgibbon, who commanded the British militia and Indians, rode up to Colonel Bœrstler with a flag, and informed him on the honour of a British soldier, that the regular force commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Bishop was double that of the American, and that the Indians were at least seven hundred in number. Colonel Bœrstler, trusting to the veracity of the officer, fearing the impracticability of escaping, and being unwilling to abandon his wounded, agreed to terms of capitulation, by which the wounded were to be treated with the utmost tenderness, the officers to be permitted to wear their side-arms, private property to be respected, and the volunteers to be paroled and permitted to return to their homes.

Lieutenant-Colonel Bishop was not on the ground at the time when this capitulation was effected, as the British lieutenant had asserted on his honour, but arrived there in time to confirm the articles of surrender. These were no sooner agreed upon than they were violated. The officers being deprived of their side-arms for the gratification of the Indians, who robbed them also of their coats, and whatever ornaments of dress they coveted. No possible account of the number of killed or wounded, on either side, could be obtained. Colonel Bœrstler was slightly wounded, and Captain Machesney of the 6th, severely, in repelling the attack of the Indians.

Colonel Christie returned to Fort George with information of this disaster, and the British forces moved down upon Queenstown, occupied that place and its neighbourhood, and in a few

days afterwards invested the American camp, having been previously joined by all the British forces from the head of the lake

General Vincent was stationed at Burlington Heights with a small force, and General De Rottenburg lay encamped at the Ten Mile creek.



THE New York mounted volunteers were detained at the head of the lake, in violation of the article which provided for their parole. On the 12th they were ordered to Kingston, to be kept there as prisoners of war. They were for this purpose embarked in two boats, under a guard of men, and a lieutenant. When within twelve miles of York, they rose upon the guard, and after a struggle of a few minutes, carried both boats, and shaped their course for Fort Niagara. After rowing nearly all night, and escaping from an enemy's schooner, with great difficulty, they arrived safely with their prisoners. In effecting this daring escape, Major Chapin, who commanded the volunteers, gave the signal to his men, by knocking down the British lieutenant, and personally encountering two of his soldiers, whom he fortunately subdued, and kept in restraint until the second boat lay along side of him.

Succeeding this event, several affairs of outposts took place, which, though not quite so important in their consequences, were equally as brilliant as any of the occurrences which had previously transpired on the Niagara frontier. Among them was a severe skirmish, brought on by an attack which had been made upon two of the outposts, of the American encampment at Fort George, on the 8th of July, by the combined force of the British and Indians. It had no sooner commenced, than adjutant Lieutenant Eldridge, of the 13th, was ordered to the support of the outposts, with a small detachment of thirty-nine men; whilst a larger body was preparing to follow him, under the command of Major Malcom.

The impetuosity of Lieutenant Eldridge led him into a thick wood, where a superior force of the British and Indians lay in

ambush, and after an obstinate, but fruitless struggle, his party were entirely defeated, five only out of the whole number escaping. Thirteen were killed or wounded, and the remainder taken prisoners. At the first onset, the enemy was repulsed; but at the second, he pressed upon, and surrounded the little party, with the whole of his numerous force. All the prisoners, including the wounded, were then inhumanly murdered, and their persons treated in so barbarous a manner, that the most temperate recital of the enemy's conduct may, perhaps, scarcely obtain belief. The feelings of the most obdurate reader, of a much more distant period, cannot but be excited to the highest degree of indignation, and those of the writer are not at all to be envied, when necessity obliges him to describe the sufferings of his countrymen, by the relation of facts which stand too well authenticated before him. The same enemy who had not long ago implored the mercy of the American officer, to be extended to his British prisoners, now fell upon the defenseless captives of this party, and scalped their heads whilst they were yet alive, split open their skulls with their tomahawks, tore the hearts out of their bodies, and stabbed, and otherwise mutilated them. Lieutenant Eldridge was supposed to have experienced the same treatment. The inhabitants of the neighbourhood having informed the garrison that he had been led, wounded, into the woods, between two Indians, a flag was sent out on the next day to ascertain his fate, which soon after returned with an answer, that Lieutenant Eldridge having killed one of the Indian chieftains, the warriors of his tribe had retaliated this supposed act of treachery, by putting him to instant death. But this reply was ascertained to have been a subterfuge of the enemy, to evade the necessity of accounting for a prisoner who was known to have been taken alive.

The commission of this, and other outrages of the same nature by the enemy, at length induced the American commander, General Boyd, to receive a party of the Seneca and Tuscorora tribes into the service of the United States, by way of intimidating the British and Indians, and of preventing a recurrence of their barbarities. Shortly after they had rendezvoused at Fort George, and had covenanted not to scalp or murder any of



Young Cornplanter.

the enemy's prisoners, who might fall into their hands, they were joined to a party of volunteers, and sent to cut off one of the outposts of the enemy, whose principal encampment was upwards of two miles from the fort. The American Indians were commanded by Major Henry O'Ball, or Young Cornplanter, who succeeded in capturing and bringing in twelve of the British Indians, and four of their white troops, with a loss of only two Indians killed.

The army at Fort George was at this time in a state of inactivity—a war of outposts only being carried on, which, though resulting in various success, was of use to the undisciplined divisions of the encampment.

On the morning of the 11th of July, a British regular force crossed the Niagara, below Black Rock, and moved up, with great rapidity, to the attack of that post. The militia who were stationed there immediately fled in considerable numbers, a few of them, however, stood their ground, and emerging from a wood, at seventy yards distance from the enemy, annoyed him very severely. But this annoyance was not regarded by the British, who entered the place, set fire to the barracks, the block house, and other buildings, spiked several pieces of cannon, and



Attack on Black Rock

took off a quantity of provisions. Whilst carrying the property to their boats, they were attacked by a force of regulars, militia, and a few Indians who poured upon them a very destructive fire. The enemy's force amounted to two hundred and fifty men —nine of whom, and a captain (Sanders) of the 41st, were left upon the shore. The force which was brought against them was precisely equal to their own. They retired partially to their boats, and in putting off from the shore, lost upwards of fifty, in killed and wounded. Among the latter was Lieutenant-Colonel Bishop, mortally.

On the 17th, a small expedition of volunteers, and about forty soldiers, left Fort George in two small row-boats, proceeded to the head of the St. Lawrence, and captured a gun-boat mounting one twenty-four-pounder, fourteen batteaux loaded with property, and four officers and sixty-one men.

On the same day an outwork of the American garrison, was attacked by two hundred British and some Indians. Colonel Scott was sent out to oppose them. He took one field-piece into an open field, and assisted by Lieutenant Smith, after a contest of one hour, succeeded in driving off the enemy. Majors Armstrong, Cummings, Captains Towson, Madison, Vandalsem, and Birdsall, the former of whom was wounded, were also actively engaged. The American loss amounted to four killed, and as many wounded.

Besides the militia, under Major Chapin, who had been captured at the Beaver Dams, several parties of regulars made prisoners at the same place, also effected their escape, in consequence of the refusal of the enemy to parole them. On the 27th, a large boat arrived at Fort George, with one lieutenant and eight Canadian militia, who had been taken by three United States regulars and five New York militiamen, as the former were conducting them to Kingston. About the same time, a boat with fourteen of Colonel Bœrstler's men and two of the enemy, arrived from New York. They communicated intelligence of the severe treatment which the American prisoners experienced there, and General Boyd and Commodore Chauncey determined on an expedition to that place.

On the 28th, Commodore Chauncey sailed with Colonel Scott

[illegible] Nix. [illegible] The British [illegible] the [illegible] species of [illegible] ships of war, [illegible] landed [illegible] not [illegible] account of [illegible] invaders The [illegible] Colonel Murray [illegible] private property should [illegible] the arsenal, [illegible] and the military cantonment, [illegible] storehouses, and carried [illegible] stock of individuals. On the 1st [illegible] marked, and stood out of the bay. Thence

they proceeded to the town of Swanton, in Vermont, landed a part of their force, and committed several outrages of the same character.



THE American and British fleets, now well appointed and equipped, were both on Lake Ontario. Commodore Chauncey being within sight of Fort George, and Sir James Yeo sailing in that direction, on the 7th of August they came within sight of each other. The British fleet consisted of six sail, the American of twelve, the majority of them being very small. Commodore Chauncey immediately weighed anchor, and manœuvered to gain the wind. Having passed the leeward of the enemy's line, and being abreast of his van ship, the Wolfe, he fired a few guns to ascertain whether he could reach the hostile fleet. The shot falling short, the commodore wore, and hauled upon a wind on the starboard tack; the rear of his schooners being then about six miles astern. The British commodore wore also, and hauled upon a wind, on the same tack, but observing that the American fleet would be able to weather him on the next, he tacked again and made all sail to the northward. Commodore Chauncey pursued him.

The chase continued until night; the schooners could not get up, and a signal was given to give up the pursuit and to form in close order. At midnight two of the schooners were missing, which were afterwards found to be the Hamilton and the Scourge, both of which had overset and sunk in a heavy squall. Sixteen men only escaped drowning. The fleet lost by this unfortunate accident two excellent officers, Lieutenant Winter and Sailingmaster Osgood, a number of fine seamen, and nineteen guns. The enemy then gained a great superiority. On the morning of the 8th he was discovered bearing up with an intention of bringing the Americans to action. Commodore Chauncey then directed the schooners to sweep up and engage him. When the van of the schooners was within one mile and a half of the enemy, he bore up for the schooners in order to cut them off, but in this he did not succeed. He then hauled his wind and hove too

A squall coming on, and Commodore Chauncey being apprehensive of separating from the heavy sailing schooners he ran the squadron in towards Niagara, and anchored outside the bar. Here he received on board from Fort George, one hundred and fifty soldiers, and distributed them through the fleet to act as marines. Before twelve o'clock on the morning of the 9th, discovered the enemy's fleet, and stood for him, and after manœuvering until eleven o'clock, at times pursuing him, and being pursued by him, the rear of the line opened its fire on him. In fifteen minutes the fire became general on both sides.

At half-past eleven the weather line bore up and passed to the leeward, except the Growler and Julia, which soon after tacked to the southward, and brought the British between them and the remainder of the American fleet, which then edged away to engage the enemy to more advantage, and to lead him from the Growler and Julia. Sir James Yeo having separated the two vessels from the squadron, exchanged a few shot, in passing, with the General Pike, (Commodore Chauncey's ship,) without injuring her, and pursued the schooners. A firing commenced between them, and was continued until one o'clock on the morning of the 10th, when the schooners surrendered, and the fleets lost sight of each other. Soon after daylight they again became visible; but no disposition being shown by the enemy to come down on Commodore Chauncey, he shortly after ran towards Sackett's Harbour to provision the squadron, and arrived there on the 13th.

About this time Sir George Prevost joined the army, which was then investing Fort George, and meditated an attack upon the American forces. Captain Fitzgerald of the 49th, assailed an outpost on the Niagara, and after gaining the rear of the guard, was fired on and charged by Captain Davenport, of the 16th United States infantry, who cut his way through Fitzgerald's party, rallied his own and made prisoners of ten men.

At this moment Captain Delano, of the 23d, came up and captured Fitzgerald, who was then wounded. The whole line of outposts was at this instant attacked and driven in. Captain Vandalsem, of the 15th, who commanded the outposts upon Butler's road, was cut off by the enemy; but hastily forming his small party, he desperately forced his way through a superior

body, and brought his guard safely into the garrison. The British forces gained possession of the town of Newark, and skirted the woods opposite Fort George, within gun-shot of the American camp. Brigadier-General Williams, who had a few days before arrived at that post, advanced from the works with his brigade, but after a trifling skirmish, he was ordered back by General Boyd, and the troops were directed to act only on the defensive. The British soon after retired to their intrenchments, which were then about two miles distant. The loss of the garrison, on this occasion, amounted to thirty, in killed, wounded, and missing. The capture of Captain Fitzgerald and his men, was the only loss which the enemy is known to have sustained.

Affairs of outposts, in which the character of the American arms was not in the least diminished, were now occurring daily. Colonel Brearly, and other officers of the different regiments, distinguished themselves; and a spirit of emulation pervaded the whole American line. Orders had been issued to the sentinels, to permit no one to pass within their chain, without the knowledge of the commanding officer. But a British officer, in passing from the left to the right of his encampment, having by mistake approached the American line, induced a sentinel to violate these orders. Thomas Gray, a private of the 15th, who at this time happened to be on guard, seeing the error into which the enemy's officer was likely to fall, permitted him to enter the line of sentinels before he challenged him. When the officer immediately surrendered, proved to be Captain Gordon, of the Royal Scots, and was conducted to General Boyd, who afterwards presented the sentinel with a silver cup, engraved with inscriptions commemorative of the event by which he had won it. The American army sustained about this time, a serious loss in the death of Colonel Christie, at Fort George, and of Lieutenant-Colonel Tuttle, at Sackett's Harbour—both of whom died of severe illness.



Tecumseh.

CHAPTER XI

Operations of the North-western Army. Battle of Lake Erie. Battle of the Thames.

THE combination of the British forces on the Niagara, the augmentation which they were daily receiving by reinforcements from the interior of Upper Canada, and the rumours which were thence sent forth of an intended coalition between these and the army of General Proctor, from Detroit, all contributed to persuade the American commanders that the enemy had become regardless of the defenses of the garrisons of Detroit and Malden; and that their leading object, for the accomplishment of which they had determined to draw together every species of troops within the province, was the expulsion of the American forces from the Canadian territory. But the vigilance of the commander-in-chief of the north-western army, enabled him not only to discover the enemy's real design, but that their regulars, and

a great body of the Indians, were at that time concealed in the neighbourhood of Fort Meigs and Stephenson, and feeling confident of their expectations that the regulars of his army would be ordered forward to the aid and co-operation of the army of the north; or, that the militia would be called from a tour of duty; which would thence be deemed unnecessary to perform; General Harrison extended his defensive arrangements, and enlarged his forces by new requisitions upon the governors of the contiguous state and territory. He was still engaged at his head-quarters, at Seneca, in fixing the destination of the new troops, as they arrived, and in distributing them among the different posts.

Fort Meigs was placed in an excellent state for vigorous defense, and active exertions were making to fortify Fort Stephenson. To the entire equipment of the latter, many difficulties presented themselves, and its situation was considered to be so defenseless, that General Harrison directed the commandant to destroy the public property, and immediately to abandon the fort, if the enemy should at any time appear before it.

During the month of July, the assembled tribes of Indian warriors, under Tecumseh, (who was reported to have then received the commission and emoluments of a brigadier-general,) and a considerable force of regulars, under General Proctor, had been well trained for an expedition, the object of which was to reduce Fort Stephenson, and thence to proceed to a second investment of Fort Meigs. Tecumseh was despatched with two thousand warriors and a few regulars, to make a diversion favourable to the attack of Proctor and Dixon, upon Fort Stephenson. He approached Fort Meigs, and kept up a heavy firing at a distance, in order to persuade the garrison that an engagement had taken place between the Indian forces and a part of General Harrison's division. By the arrival at Fort Meigs, of an officer from the head-quarters, this scheme was fortunately frustrated; and Tecumseh then approached the garrison, and surrounded it with his whole force.

From Seneca Town scouting parties had been sent out in every direction along the shores of Sandusky bay, with instructions to keep up a continual communication with the commander

in-chief. On the morning of the 1st of August, he was informed of the approach of the enemy to the mouth of the bay; Fort Stephenson, which was situated twenty miles above, evidently being their object. Early in the evening, the combined forces consisting of seven hundred Indians, under Dixon, and five hundred regulars, under General Proctor, who commanded in chief, appeared before the fort. The gun-boats, from which they had landed, were at the same time drawn up, to bear upon one of its angles.

General Proctor immediately disposed his troops so as to surround the garrison, and entirely cut off its retreat. His immense superiority of numbers, enabled him to invest it so perfectly, that the American troops, whose whole effective force did not amount to one hundred and sixty men, had no probable prospect of cutting their way through, and Major Croghan, who had been promoted to the command of this post, for his gallant conduct at the siege of Fort Meigs, having already disobeyed the orders of the commander-in-chief, by not destroying and abandoning the fort, had made arrangements to repel an assault, by cutting a deep ditch, and hastily constructing a stockade work around it; and, being ably supported by his officers and men, he determined on defending the garrison, though he should sell the life of every soldier.

The British general, having completed the disposition of his army, attempted to obtain possession of Fort Stephenson by artifice. He sent forward a flag by Colonel Elliot, whose character is yet in the memory of every reader, accompanied by the same Major Chambers who had before demanded the surrender of Fort Meigs, and an Indian chief, whose enmity to the Americans was violent. This flag was met at a few paces from the garrison, by Ensign Shipp, of the 17th, to whom General Proctor's demand of an immediate and unconditional surrender was delivered, and from whom the enemy received Major Croghan's answer, of a determination not to yield, but with the loss of all his men. Colonel Elliot then attempted to seduce the ensign from his duty, by various artifices, which were followed by a threatened slaughter of the garrison, on further refusal to surrender. The young American turned from his apostate country-

man, Elliot, with disgust, and was immediately seized upon by the Indian chief, who attempted to disarm him. The resistance of the ensign, and the interference of Elliot and Chambers, prevented this outrage, and Major Croghan being apprehensive about the safety of his officer, instantly ordered him to be called into the garrison. The enemy then opened his fire from the gun-boats and a five and a half inch howitzer, and continued the cannonade throughout the night.

On the morning of the 2d, three six-pounders were discovered to have been planted at a distance of two hundred and fifty yards from the stockade, and in a few minutes after, an unsuccessful fire was opened upon the fort. The British general feeling his inability to annoy the garrison, from the situation in which his artillery was then placed, and being convinced that he could neither make an impression upon the works, nor ever hope to carry them by storm, unless a breach could be made in the north-west angle of the fort, ordered all his guns to be directed at that point. A rapid fire was kept up against it for several hours; but Major Croghan being aware of his design, detached as many men as could be usefully employed, to strengthen that angle; by means of bags of sand, of flour, and other articles, it was effectually secured. Under a supposition that his fire had shattered the stockade work, which was not at all injured, General Proctor ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Short to lead up a close column of three hundred and fifty regulars, of the 41st regiment, to storm the fort at that point, whilst a second column should make a feint upon that part of the American line, which was commanded by Captain Hunter, of the 17th. This attempt to draw the attention of the garrison from the north-west angle did not succeed. The troops posted there were ordered to remain firm; and when the column, which was advancing against them had approached within twenty paces of the lines, before which time it was so completely enveloped in smoke as not to be observed, they opened a heavy and galling fire, which threw the advancing party into confusion, and intimidated that which was reserved for the attack on the other angle of the fort. The British battery, which was then enlarged by two other six pounders, was again opened, and sustained the advance of the



Defense of Fort Stephenson.

two columns, by an incessant, though equally unsuccessful fire as the former. Colonel Short rallying his men with great alacrity, again led them up, advanced to the stockade, and springing over the pickets, into the ditch, commanded the whole column to follow and assault the works with the utmost vigour, but to give no quarter to any of the American soldiers.

AT the north-western angle stood a block-house, in which a six-pounder had been heretofore judiciously concealed. It was at this instant opened, and having previously been pointed so as to rake in that situation, a double charge of leaden slugs, was fired into the ditch, and sweeping the whole column, the front of which was only thirty feet distant from the piece, killed Colonel Short, and almost every man who had ventured to obey his order. A volley of musketry was fired at the same time, and great numbers of the enemy, who had not yet entered the ditch, were severely wounded.

The officer who succeeded Colonel Short in the command of the broken column, immediately rallied and formed it anew, and led it on to the same fatal point. A second fire from the destructive six-pounder, was poured upon it, with as much success

as the first; and the small arms were discharged so briskly, that the enemy's troops were again thrown into confusion, and not all the exertions of the British officers could bring them up to another assault. They fled precipitately to an adjoining wood, and were very soon followed by the Indians. In a few minutes the firing entirely ceased; and an army much more than ten times superior to a small garrison, was compelled to relinquish an attack the successful issue of which was not at all doubted by any one of its officers.

A strong degree of terror prevailed among the collected forces. The Indians were enraged and mortified at this unparalleled defeat; and carrying their dead and wounded from the field, they indignantly followed the British regulars to the shipping. General Proctor abandoned his wounded, and left the dead bodies of his most distinguished officers, among whom was Colonel Short, in the ditch. During the night of the 2d, Major Croghan received as many of the wounded enemy through the port-hole as were able to approach it, and to those who could not, he threw out provisions and water.

On the morning of the 3d, the gun-boats and transports sailed down the bay, and guards of soldiers were immediately afterwards sent out to collect and bring into the fort all the wounded, and to bury the enemy's dead with all the honours to which, by their rank, they were entitled. Seventy stand of arms, several braces of pistols, and a boat containing much clothing and military stores, which had been left in the hurry of the enemy's flight, were then taken. The loss of the assailants was reported to have been not less than one hundred and fifty; that of the garrison was one killed, and seven slightly wounded.

The brilliancy of this affair procured for the officers and men the thanks of the government, and the unfeigned applause of all parties in the Union. Major Croghan was soon after promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and was presented with a sword by the ladies of Chillicothe. His precaution and activity prevented a very important, though weak post, from falling into the hands of the enemy; and gave a powerful check to their plan of operations for the remaining part of the campaign. The commander-in-chief, whose positive orders he had ventured to dis



Colonel Croghan.

obey, yielded him his warmest approbation, and recommended to the early notice of the department of war, a young soldier of twenty-one years who had baffled the most ingenious efforts of the British general, and had sustained his various assaults for thirty six hours. Besides Major Croghan the garrison contained seven officers, all of whom distinguished themselves. Captain Hunter was second in command, and resisted the attacks of the second British column, as well as of the Indians. Lieutenants Johnson, Bayler, and Meeks, of the 17th, and Anthony, of the 24th, and Ensigns Shipp and Duncan, of the 17th, were stationed at different places in the garrison, and acquitted themselves with great credit.

General Harrison had no sooner been apprized of the approach of the enemy towards Fort Stephenson, than he sent orders for the immediate march of two hundred and fifty volunteers from Upper Sandusky, and put in readiness all the infantry at Seneca under Generals M'Arthur and Cass. Scouts were instantly forwarded to reconnoiter the position of the enemy, but in consequence of

the strong disposition of the Indian forces they were unable to approach the garrison, and were met by General Harrison and his dragoons between Seneca Town and Fort Stephenson. Here the retreat of the enemy under Proctor, and the investment of Fort Meigs by Tecumseh, were first heard of; and the general directed M'Arthur and Cass to fall back to Seneca Town for the protection of the sick and the provisions. But two days after, Tecumseh and his Indians followed the steps of Proctor and Dixon, and all apprehensions about the safety of the military hospitals were therefore removed.

The American fleet on Lake Erie having been completed, and with great difficulty passed over the bar, a principal part of the crew of each vessel being made up of the Pennsylvania militia, who had volunteered to go on an expedition, sailed on a short cruise for the purpose of training the guns and of exercising the sailors. In the latter part of August, Commodore Perry proceeded to the mouth of Sandusky river, to co-operate with General Harrison. At this place about seventy volunteer marines were received on board, and the fleet sailed in quest of the British squadron. The latter was, at that time, near Malden, before which place Commodore Perry appeared, and after reconnoitering the enemy, he retired to Put-in-Bay, a distance of thirty miles, in hopes of drawing out his antagonist.

On the morning of the 10th of September, the enemy was discovered bearing down upon the American squadron, which immediately got under way and stood out to meet him. The superiority of force was greatly in favour of the British, though they had not an equal number of vessels. Their crews were larger, and the length and number of their guns greater than those of the American squadron. The latter consisted of the brig Lawrence, (flag vessel,) of twenty guns; the Niagara, Captain Elliot, of twenty; the Caledonia, Lieutenant Turner, of three; the schooner Ariel, of four; the Scorpion, of two; the Somers, of two, and two swivels; the sloop Trippe, and schooners Tigress and Porcupine, of one gun each; making a fleet of nine vessels, of fifty-four guns and two swivels. The British squadron consisted of the ships Detroit, Commodore Barclay, of nineteen guns and two howitzers; the Queen Charlotte, Captain Finnis, of

seventeen and one howitzer; the schooner Lady Prevost, Lieutenant Buchan, of thirteen and one howitzer; the brig Hunter, of ten; the sloop Little Belt, of three; and the schooner Chippewa, of one and two swivels; making a fleet of six vessels and sixty-three guns, four howitzers, and two swivels.

When the American fleet stood out, the British fleet had the weather-gage, but at ten o'clock, A. M., the wind shifted and brought the American to windward. The line of battle was formed at eleven, and at fifteen minutes before twelve the enemy's flag ship and the Queen Charlotte opened upon the Lawrence a heavy and effectual fire, which she was obliged to sustain upwards of ten minutes, without a possibility of returning it in consequence of her battery being of carronades. She nevertheless continued to bear up, and having given a signal to the other vessels to support her, at a few minutes before twelve opened her fire upon the enemy.

The wind being too light to assist the remainder of the squadron in coming up, the Lawrence was compelled to fight the enemy's heaviest vessels upwards of two hours. The crew were not at all depressed; their animation increased as the desperation of the fight became greater, and the guns were worked with as much coolness and precision as if they had been in the act of training only. The slaughter on board the brig was almost unparalleled, the rigging very much injured, and the braces entirely shot away; and at length, after every gun had been rendered useless she became quite unmanageable. The first lieutenant, Yarnall, was thrice wounded; the second lieutenant, Forrest, struck in the breast; the gallant Lieutenant Brookes, of the marines, and Midshipman Laub were killed, and Sailingmaster Taylor, Purser Hamilton, and Midshipmen Claxton and Swartwout, wounded. Her loss already amounted to twenty-two killed, and sixty-one wounded; when the commodore, seeing that she must very soon strike, if the other vessels were not brought up, gave up the command of the Lawrence to Lieutenant Yarnall, and jumping into a boat, ordered it to be steered for the Niagara, to which vessel he had determined to shift his flag. In passing from the Lawrence to the Niagara, he stood up, waving his sword, and gallantly cheering his men, under a shower of balls

Battle of Lake Erie.

and bullets. He gained the Niagara unhurt, at the moment the flag of the Lawrence came down; and the wind having at that instant increased, he brought her into action, and at forty-five minutes past two, gave signal for the whole fleet to close.

All the vessels were now engaged, but as the superiority of the enemy had been increased by the loss of the Lawrence, the commodore determined on piercing his line with the Niagara. He therefore resolutely bore up, and passing ahead of the Detroit, Queen Charlotte, and Lady Prevost, poured a galling and destructive fire into each, from his starboard side, and into the Chippewa and Little Belt, from his larboard. He was then within half pistol-shot, and as he cut through the line, the commander of the Lady Prevost, a brave officer, who had distinguished himself at the battle of the Nile, received a musket-ball in the face, and the crew being unable to stand the fire, immediately ran below. At this moment the Caledonia was struggling to get closer into the action, and her commander, Lieutenant Turner, ordered her guns to be fired through the foresail, which interfered between him and the enemy, rather than lose the chance of a full share in the combat, and was only prevented from attempting to board the Detroit, by the prudent refusal of the officer of another small vessel, to assist him.

The action was now raging with its utmost violence; every broadside fired with the most exact precision, and the result of the conflict altogether uncertain. In addition to the loss of the Lawrence's guns, one of the Ariel's had bursted, and the enemy had then the superiority of thirty-four guns. This doubtful aspect, however, soon after changed. The Queen Charlotte had lost her captain, and all her principal officers; and having, by some mischance, run foul of the Detroit, most of the guns of both vessels became useless. In this situation, advantage of which was immediately taken by Commodore Perry, they were compelled to sustain, in turn, an incessant fire from the Niagara, and other vessels of the American squadron. The British commodore's flag was soon after struck, and those of the Queen Charlotte and Lady Prevost, the Hunter and the Chippewa, came down in immediate succession. The whole fleet surrendered to the inferior squadron, with the exception of the



Commodore Perry.

Little Belt, which attempted to escape, but was pursued by two of the gun-boats, and captured at a distance of three miles from the squadron.

Thus, after an action of three hours, in which the individual gallantry of either fleet, had never been surpassed by any naval event now to be found on the record of history, was the entire command of this important lake, yielded to the American arms. To the future operations of the north-western army, every prospect of success was thrown open, and the recovery of the lost territory became no longer doubtful. Commodore Perry informed his government, that it had "*pleased the Almighty to crown their arms with success*," and attributed the issue to the gallant conduct of his officers, his men, and the volunteers on board. Among them, are to be found the names of Captain Elliott, Lieutenants Turner, Edwards, and Midshipmen Laud, Claxton, Swartwout, Clark, and Cummings—of the conduct of Lieutenants Yarnall and Brookes, and Purser Hamilton; the latter of whom worked as a

common sailor, at a gun, the best evidence has been given—the admiration of the whole squadron, as well as that of the enemy

The number of killed and wounded in both fleets was excessively great. Commodore Barclay was wounded in the hip, and lost the use of his right arm. The other had been shot off in a former action. The loss on board his squadron exceeded two hundred. The American loss amounted to twenty-seven killed, and ninety-six wounded. The captured vessels were convoyed to the bay of Sandusky; and the prisoners, six hundred in number, conducted to Chillicothe. Among these were a few companies of the British 41st regiment, who had been taken on board to act as marines.

The result of this brilliant conflict was immediately followed by active and extensive preparations for the expulsion of the enemy from Detroit, the entire subjugation of Malden, and the overthrow of General Proctor's army. These objects achieved, the operations on the Niagara and St. Lawrence would be rapidly facilitated, and the most plausible prospects held out to an expedition against Montreal. Governor Meigs had made a call upon the militia of Ohio, as soon as he was informed of the attack upon Fort Stephenson, and upwards of fifteen thousand volunteers were very soon under arms. Many of these were not yet discharged, and General Harrison now required a proportion of them. At the mouth of Portage river, he intended that his whole army should be concentrated; and between that point and Sandusky bay he caused fences of logs to be constructed for the protection of the horses and baggage.

The governor of Kentucky, Isaac Shelby, arrived at the new head-quarters of the army on the 17th of September, with four thousand well mounted volunteers. The works at Fort Meigs being reduced, and garrisoned by a few men, General M'Arthur marched from that post with his brigade, and joined the main body also. Thus strengthened, General Harrison determined on invading the enemy's shores; and, at the dawn of the 21st, he ordered his forces to embark at the mouth of the river, and to rendezvous at the different islands, which lay in clusters between Malden and the point of embarkation. To Colonel Johnson, who commanded a Kentucky mounted regiment at Fort Meigs,



Governor Shelby.

he gave orders to proceed to Detroit by land; arrangements having been first made, by which that officer and the commander-in-chief were to be informed of each other's progress by daily expresses.

On the 27th the troops were received on board the fleet, now enlarged by the captured vessels. They were embarked at a small island, about twenty miles from Malden, called the Eastern Sister, and one of two islands to which the name of the Sisters had been given. In the afternoon of the same day, the fleet which was composed of sixteen vessels of war, and upwards of one hundred boats arrived at a point three miles below Malden. Here the troops were landed in good order, and with perfect silence, and proceeded thence to Amherstburg by eschellon movements.

The British general well aware that the American commander would early avail himself of the advantages lately gained by the capture of the fleet, had made preparations to retire into the interior of Canada, to a place of better security than Malden. He was apprized by his videttes, of the approach of General Harrison, and having first set fire to the fort, and destroyed every article of public property, he ordered his forces, which were still composed of British regulars, and Tecumseh's and Dixon's Indians, to retreat along the Thames, and thence toward its course to the Moravian towns. The fort, the barracks, and other public

buildings were still smoking, when the American army entered Amherstburg, and a number of females came out to implore protection from its commander. They received it. The guns of the batteries had been previously sunk, one only remained on an island opposite Malden, and that had been left in the confusion of the enemy's retreat to the Thames.

Amherstburg had heretofore been the repository of Indian spoil, and the principal depot of Indian presents. The tribes had been continually provided with munitions of war from the garrison there; and rewarded at that post, for the outrages committed by them, at various times, upon the people of the adjoining American territories. The previous sufferings of the citizens of the frontier, had all been derived from the activity of British traders who were proprietors of the property and soil; yet, though almost every volunteer of the American army had been affected, either in his possessions, in his own person, or that of his relatives, by the incursions and outrages of the enemy, the inhabitants of Amherstburg were protected from violence, and their individual property honourably respected. Highly, and frequently, as the indignation of these troops had been excited, they were still determined to contrast their conduct here with that of the British and Indians, at the river Raisin; and the house and grounds, therefore, of the most active officer at that scene, Colonel Elliott, suffered not the least molestation.

On the 28th the army crossed *La Riviere aux Cannards*, the bridge over which the enemy had not stopped to destroy, and arrived at Sandwich on the following day, the fleet moving at the same time, through the river Detroit, to that place. Governor Shelby's command then occupied the point at which the first invasion of Canada had been attempted, whilst the remainder of the army crossed over to the delivery of the town of Detroit out of the possession of the British Indians, who immediately abandoned the garrison, and retreated in different directions. General Harrison, knowing that large numbers of warriors, under Split-Log, were collecting in the woods near Huron of Lake St. Clair, directed General M'Arthur to remain with most of the regulars, in the occupation of Detroit, whilst he would pursue the army of General Proctor up the Thames.

Colonel R. M. Johnson's regiment had arrived at Detroit on the day after its occupation by the American army; and having concentrated this force, with a part of Colonel Ball's regiment of dragoons, and the whole of Governor Shelby's volunteers, the commander-in-chief, on the 2d of October, pursued the enemy's route. Such was the rapidity of his movement, that he encamped in the evening of the same day at the river Riscum, a distance of twenty-six miles from Sandwich. Early on the morning of the 3d, he resumed his march, and being accompanied by General Cass and Commodore Perry, as acting aids, he proceeded in the advance with Johnson's regiment, in order to secure the bridges on the rivers tributary to Lake St. Clair. By the capture of a lieutenant of dragoons and eleven privates, who had been left in General Proctor's rear, with orders to take up every bridge by which the approach of Harrison's army could possibly be facilitated, one bridge was saved, and the American general learned, that the enemy had "no certain information of his advance up the Thames." Within eight miles of this river, at Drake's farm, the army encamped for the night, and its baggage followed thus far, in the transports of the squadron.

On the morning of the 4th, the army again proceeded on its route, and having reached Chatham, seventeen miles from Lake St. Clair, found its progress obstructed by a deep and unfordable creek, the bridge of which had been partially destroyed by a body of Indians, who now made their appearance, and fired on the front guard. They had taken position on the opposite side of the creek, and flanked the American army on the right bank of the river. General Harrison made immediate arrangements to disperse or capture them. Colonel Johnson was already stationed on the right of the line, and had seized the ruins of another bridge, under a smart fire from the Indians on that flank. Major Wood was directed to bring up his artillery, and cover the pioneers who were repairing the first bridge. This he did with unexpected success. The Indians could not withstand the heavy discharges of artillery, and they therefore retired without much regard to the order of their retreat. The bridge was quickly repaired, and the army having first extinguished the flames of a farmhouse, which had been fired by the Ind-

and captured from it two thousand stand of arms and a quantity of clothing, crossed over the creek, pursued the enemy four miles up the river, annoyed his rearguard, and took from him several pieces of cannon. This skirmish continued one hour, in which time two men of the army were killed, and six wounded; whilst thirteen were killed on the side of the enemy. Besides muskets, cannon, and clothing, he lost three vessels, loaded with ordnance stores and arms, which the approach of the Americans obliged him to destroy.

On the 5th, the pursuit was eagerly renewed, and attended by the capture of two gun-boats and several barges, loaded with provisions and ammunition. Having attained the ground on which the enemy had encamped the night before, the commander-in-chief directed Colonel Johnson to hasten the march of his advance guard, and to send forward an officer to reconnoiter the situation of the combined British and Indian forces. This officer very soon after returned with intelligence that the enemy were prepared for action, in an open ground, within four miles of the American main body.

The road upon which General Harrison was then marching, entered a thick and extensive forest on the beach. A short distance from the bank of the Thames was a miry swamp, which extended to the Moravian town; and between this swamp and the river was a level plain, through which, because of the thick underwood in the forest, the army would be obliged to make its approaches. Across this plain the British line was drawn up, with its left resting on the river, supported by the greatest proportion of their artillery; its centre being protected by two heavy pieces, and its strength, in regulars, amounting to six hundred. Twelve hundred Indians were formed along the margin of the swamp.

When General Harrison had come up with the main body, and was advised of the advantageous situation of the enemy, he ordered Colonel Paul, with one hundred and fifty regulars, to occupy a space between the road and the river; to advance upon, and divert the enemy, and on an opportunity, to seize the cannon which defended his left flank. Lieutenant-Colonel James Johnson was directed to form Major Payne's battalion of the mounted

regiment, and Major Suggett's three spy companies, into six charging columns, immediately in front of the British line of regulars and an Indian flank; whilst General Henny's division of infantry should be stationed for his support in his rear. Colonel R. M. Johnson was charged with the formation of another battalion, in front of the Indians, who were arrayed on the margin of the swamp. He accordingly dismounted one company, under command of Captain Stucker, with which he stretched a line in the face of the Indians, and ordered Major Thompson to form the remaining four companies, on horseback, into two charging columns of double files, immediately in the rear of the line on foot. The left of this battalion was supported by the infantry of General Desha.

Thus disposed, with the main army in their rear, these divisions moved forward to the attack. The British gave the first fire, upon which the charge was quickly ordered, and in a few moments the enemy's line was pierced by upwards of one thousand horsemen, who, dashing through the British regulars with irresistible speed, either trampled under foot, or cut down every soldier who opposed them; and having killed and wounded upwards of fifty at one charge, instantly formed in their rear, and repeated the attack. Such was the panic which pervaded the whole line of the enemy, that an order which had been issued to fix bayonet, was not attempted to be executed; and, in a little while, Colonels Evans, Warburton, and Baubee, and Majors Muir and Chambers, surrendered with four hundred and seventy-two prisoners. The charge had no sooner been made, than General Proctor, fearing the consequences of his conduct in Michigan, if he should be taken in this battle, abandoned his command, and made his escape in a carriage, under a strong escort of dragoons.

Whilst this brilliant charge was making on the right, the action was raging with great violence on the left. Between the Indians there, and the mounted men and infantry drawn up against them, it was longer and more obstinately contended. The Indians were commanded by Tecumseh, who fought with more than his accustomed skill, and having posted his warriors in the best possible situations to repulse an attack, he indicated his willingness to receive the assault of the American cavalry. Colonel John-

son, who saw that the Indians would dispute the ground with more bravery than the British regulars, placed himself at the head of his battalion, and led it up to a vigorous charge upon Tecumseh's flank. That chief at the same moment dealt out a tremendous fire, which though severe in its effect, did not retard the movement of the advancing columns. But the difficulty of penetrating the thicket and swamp threw an impediment in the way of a successful result to an onset with dragoons, and the attempt to break the Indian line in consequence failed. An engagement immediately took place, however, in which, after exchanging several rounds with Tecumseh's band, Colonel Johnson ordered both his columns to dismount, and leading them up a second time, he made a desperate, but successful effort to break through the Indians. Having gained the rear of their line, his next order directed his men to fight them in their own mode. The contest became now more obstinate. Notwithstanding their line had been thus pierced, and their warriors were falling in considerable numbers, the Indians did not think themselves yet discomfited, and quickly collecting their principal strength upon the right, they made an attempt to penetrate the line of infantry under General Desha. In this they had partially succeeded, a part of that line having faltered, when Governor Shelby brought up three companies of his volunteers to its support, and in turn threw back the Indians.

Meanwhile Colonel R. M. Johnson had been five times wounded, and in that state, covered with blood, and exhausted by pain and fatigue, he personally encountered Tecumseh. The colonel was mounted on a white charger, at which, being a conspicuous object, the Indians had continually levelled their fire. A shower of bullets had fallen round him; his holsters, his clothes, and most of his accoutrements, were pierced in several places; and at the instant when he discovered Tecumseh his horse received a second wound. Tecumseh, having discharged his rifle, sprang forward with his tomahawk, and had it already raised to throw, when Colonel Johnson's horse staggered back, and immediately the colonel drew forth a pistol, shot the Indian through the head, and both fell to the ground together.

The wounded colonel being then removed from the field,

and bullets. He gained the Niagara unhurt, at the moment the flag of the Lawrence came down; and the wind having at that instant increased, he brought her into action, and at forty-five minutes past two, gave signal for the whole fleet to close.

All the vessels were now engaged, but as the superiority of the enemy had been increased by the loss of the Lawrence, the commodore determined on piercing his line with the Niagara. He therefore resolutely bore up, and passing ahead of the Detroit, Queen Charlotte, and Lady Prevost, poured a galling and destructive fire into each, from his starboard side, and into the Chippewa and Little Belt, from his larboard. He was then within half pistol-shot, and as he cut through the line, the commander of the Lady Prevost, a brave officer, who had distinguished himself at the battle of the Nile, received a musket-ball in the face, and the crew being unable to stand the fire, immediately ran below. At this moment the Caledonia was struggling to get closer into the action, and her commander, Lieutenant Turner, ordered her guns to be fired through the foresail, which interfered between him and the enemy, rather than lose the chance of a full share in the combat, and was only prevented from attempting to board the Detroit, by the prudent refusal of the officer of another small vessel, to assist him.

The action was now raging with its utmost violence; every broadside fired with the most exact precision, and the result of the conflict altogether uncertain. In addition to the loss of the Lawrence's guns, one of the Ariel's had bursted, and the enemy had then the superiority of thirty-four guns. This doubtful aspect, however, soon after changed. The Queen Charlotte had lost her captain, and all her principal officers; and having, by some mischance, run foul of the Detroit, most of the guns of both vessels became useless. In this situation, advantage of which was immediately taken by Commodore Perry, they were compelled to sustain, in turn, an incessant fire from the Niagara, and other vessels of the American squadron. The British commodore's flag was soon after struck, and those of the Queen Charlotte and Lady Prevost, the Hunter and the Chippewa, came down in immediate succession. The whole fleet surrendered to the inferior squadron, with the exception of the

garrisoned by one thousand men, under General Cass, who was appointed provisional governor of the Michigan territory; and the civil law was restored to the condition in which it was at the time when General Proctor instituted other ordinances for the government of the inhabitants.

In the event of his success against Procior, the commander-in-chief had been directed by the war department, to join the northern army on the Niagara; and accordingly, having, besides these arrangements, stationed a respectable force at Malden and Sandwich, on the 23d of October he embarked in the squadron of Lake Erie, with all his disposables, and sailed for the village of Buffalo, were he arrived before the beginning of November.



General Harrison crossing the Thames.



CHAPTER XII.

Operations on the Niagara Frontier.

CORRESPONDENT with these movements of the north-western army, a plan of operations on the St. Lawrence had been concerted by the united talents of the war department, which had been transferred to the frontier, and General Wilkinson, who, having succeeded to the command of the army of the north, had established his headquarters at Fort George. By this plan, the capture and occupation of Montreal and Kingston, the grand rendezvous of the British land forces, and the only secure harbour for their naval armaments, was contemplated; and the result of its successful execution could not fail of being fruitful with advantages to the future movements of the army, and the contemplated conquest of the province of Lower Canada. The late overthrow of General Proctor, in the upper province, increased the expectations of the department and the army, and held out to each, the most certain prospects of eventual success. Two obstacles, however, presented themselves to the entire fulfilment of expectations. The lateness of the season; which, in a

country where the winter commences with great severity, would raise up insurmountable obstructions to the movements of the troops; and the difference of opinion between the commanding general and the secretary at war, as to which post should be the first object of assault. Each being tenacious of his own opinion, and both anxious for the consummation of the concerted scheme, it became necessary to hasten the impending operations, by the adoption of one or the other. The deliberation of a council of war was propo ed. To obviate the first difficulty, the removal of the second was indispensable, and the necessity of an immediate decision, upon a question involving the interests of the expedition, became more obvious. A council was therefore organized, and conceiving that the success of the design depended on an early movement of the designated force, they decided without hesitation on a descent upon Montreal.

Arrangements were then adopted to collect and concentrate the different regiments on Grenadier island, a point between Kingston and Sackett's Harbour, which had been assigned as the best rendezvous, because of its contiguity to the head of the St. Lawrence. Orders were forwarded to Fort George, to Colonel Scott of the artillery, who had been left by General Wilkinson in command of that post, to embark his artillery and Colonel Randolph's regiment of infantry, on board a vessel of the squadron, and to proceed to the island. The general had left the garrison of Fort George on the 2d of October, with the largest portion of the troops, who were now awaiting the remainder at the rendezvous, and had been actively employed in providing clothing and other equip ments necessary to the soldiers in the course of their movement down the river. Between Grenadier island and Sackett's Harbour, he had made frequent voyages, to see that the troops were well bestowed at the former, and that the different detachments which almost daily arrived at the latter, were immediately despatched thence. He had caused a sufficient number of boats to be prepared to convey the artillery through the St. Lawrence; and having assigned the command of Sackett's Harbour to Lieutenant-Colonel Dennis, he thence proceeded to put the troops in motion at the island.

By this time, the 23d, the force at that place amounted to

nearly eight thousand men, and was composed of Colonel Moses Porter's light artillery; a few companies of Colonel Scott's (2d) regiment of artillery; Colonel Macomb's (3d) regiment of artillery; the 5th regiment of infantry; the 6th, commanded by Captain Humphreys; the 11th; the 12th, Colonel Coles; the 13th, commanded by Colonel Preston of the 23d; the 14th, Lieutenant-Colonel Dix; the 15th, Colonel Brearly; the 16th, Colonel Pearce; the 21st, Colonel Ripley; the 22d, Colonel Brady; the 25th; and Major Forsythe's rifle corps.

Having issued the necessary orders, General Wilkinson resolved on moving on the 25th; and although the gales which had prevailed for several days continued with unabated violence, and were now attended with heavy rains, his anxiety to promote the issue of the expedition induced him to order the embarkation of the troops; and, buffeting with a disorder which had rendered his health extremely precarious, he remained on the island until the embarkation was nearly completed, directing the boats to take advantage of the momentary pauses of the storm to slide into the St. Lawrence.

A few days before, intelligence had been forwarded by Colonel Scott, of the enemy's having evacuated the intrenchments in the neighbourhood of Fort George, and of their having burnt and otherwise destroyed all their camp equipage and many stand of arms, in order to facilitate the march of their troops to Kingston; to which place they had been ordered as soon as General Wilkinson's contemplated movement was discovered. They had been apprized of the intentions of the American general previous to the 9th, and on that day they abandoned the whole peninsula on the Niagara, and directed their attention to the defense of Kingston, against which they supposed the Americans would move. To keep that impression alive, and to confine their plans to the protection of Kingston only, General Wilkinson fixed on French creek, which lies immediately opposite the point at which the British suspected he would land, as the general rendezvous of the troops after their entrance into the St. Lawrence. Brigadier-General Brown (now of the United States regulars) was ordered forward to command the advance of the army at that ce, and the rear was soon after strengthened by the arrival

at Grenadier island of the 20th regiment, under Colonel Randolph.

On the 1st of November the enemy appeared at French creek with a squadron of four large vessels, and a number of boats filled with infantry, and attacked the detachment at that place in the evening. General Brown hastily made arrangements to defend his position, and after a short cannonade the enemy's vessels were compelled to retire, by a battery of three eighteen-pounders, which had been erected and managed with great spirit by Captains McPherson and Fanning of the artillery The enemy fell down to a convenient harbour, and renewed his attack on the following morning. By the same judicious arrangements he was again repulsed, and a few hours afterwards the American squadron entered the St. Lawrence, and took a position near French creek, to command the north and south channels. On the 3d and 4th the rear of the army arrived at the general rendezvous. On the 5th the flotilla of transports got under way, and arrived without accident below Morrisville.

On the 6th the commander-in-chief ordered the flotilla to descend with the whole army, to a point within three miles of Prescott, and directed the powder and fixed ammunition to be debarked, and transported by land, under cover of the night, below the enemy's batteries. Before either of these orders was put in execution, he proceeded in his gig to reconnoiter the place, and having concluded that the safest passage of the troops would be effected on shore, he ordered the debarkation of every man, except the number necessary to navigate the boats, and the army marched by night, two miles below Prescott. Arrangements were also made for the passage of the flotilla, to the same point; and General Brown being the general officer of the day, was charged with the superintendence. Availing himself of a heavy fog which came on at eight o'clock in the evening, the commander-in-chief, believing he could pass the enemy's fort unobserved, put the flotilla and the marching columns in motion at the same instant, and proceeded in his gig, followed by his passage boat and staff, ahead of the former. An unexpected change of the atmosphere enabled the enemy's garrison to discover the boats, and the columns upon land, whose movements had been simultaneous.

Nearly fifty twenty-four-pound shot were fired at the general's passage boat, and the columns were assailed with great numbers of shot and shells. Neither of these attacks were successful, nor did the Americans sustain the slightest degree of injury. The flotilla had been halted by General Brown as soon as the firing was heard, and it did not resume its course until the setting of the moon; when, in attempting to pass, at the same place, it was attacked also. It nevertheless pursued its passage to the place of destination, under a heavy, though ineffectual fire of three hours. During all this time, of three hundred boats of which the flotilla was comprised, not one was touched by a ball; and before ten o'clock of the 7th, they all safely arrived at the designated rendezvous. From this place the commander-in-chief forwarded an order to General Hampton, commanding the left division of the northern army to form a junction with the division then descending the St. Lawrence.

On the 7th the difficulties in this descent increased. The indisposition of the general became alarming. The passage of the troops was delayed half a day in extricating two schooners from the river near Ogdensburg, which were loaded with provisions, and had been driven to that place by the enemy's fire. In the course of the morning, the commander-in-chief had been informed that the coast below was lined with posts of artillery and musketry, at every narrow pass of the river. He therefore detached Colonel Macomb, with the elite corps of about twelve hundred men, to remove these obstructions. At three in the afternoon the army followed. Immediately after passing the first rapid of the St. Lawrence, the passage boat of the general was again attacked by two pieces of light artillery, which Colonel Macomb had not observed in his march. No other injury was done, however, than the cutting of the rigging, the attention of these pieces being diverted from that object by Lieutenant-Colonel Eustis and a few light gun-barges, between whom and the enemy a cannonade was kept up, without effect on either side. But Major Forsythe, who was in Macomb's rear, having landed his riflemen, and advanced upon the enemy, three pieces were precipitately carried away. About six miles below the town of Hamilton, the flotilla



General Macomb

comb's having routed the enemy at a block-house, two miles lower. The dragoons, which were attached to the first division of the army, had by this time assembled at a place called the White House, situated at a contraction of the river. On the morning of the 5th the flotilla proceeded to this point, and after having ordered General Brown to go forward with his brigade, to reinforce Colonel Macomb, and to take command of the advance of the army, General Wilkinson directed the transportation of the dragoons across the St. Lawrence. This business was completed in the course of the night.

Not long after the descent of this river was commenced by the American army, the British troops, who had been concentrated in the vicinity of Kingston, having discovered that that post was not the object of the expedition, immediately proceeded to Prescott. The day following that on which the Americans had passed this village, the British commandant sent a flag over to Ogdensburg, with a demand for the delivery of all the public property there, under the penalty of the immediate destruction of the town. Without waiting, however, for a compliance with this demand, the enemy embarked about fifteen hundred troops, and followed General Wilkinson's descent, with an intention of annoying his rear. On the 9th they had so far gained upon it,

as to bring on a skirmish between the American riflemen and a party of British militia and Indians. After having killed one man, the enemy were completely repulsed.



N the course of this day, the cavalry, with four pieces of artillery, under Captain McPherson, were attached to the command of General Brown, who was ordered to clear the coast below, as far as the head of the "*Longue Saut.*" After being obliged to halt several hours, by the rapidity of the current, to enable General Brown to make good his march, in time to cover the movements of the flotilla, General Wilkinson arrived at a point called the Yellow House, which stands near the *saut.*

On the morning of the 10th he ordered General Brown to prosecute his march with all the troops under his command, except two pieces of artillery and the 2d dragoons. A regard for the safety of the men, induced the commanding general to *march* as many of them as possible, as the passage of the *Longue Saut* would be long and dangerous. This regiment, therefore, as well as all the men of the other brigades, with the reservation of a proper number to navigate the boats, were assigned to General Boyd, who was ordered to take necessary precautions to prevent the enemy, hanging on the rear, from making an advantageous attack; and if attacked, to turn upon, and if possible to beat them.

General Brown, in obedience to these orders, marched with the advance, then consisting of about eighteen hundred men, and composed principally of Colonel Macomb's artillery, some companies of Colonel Scott's regiment, part of the light artillery, the riflemen, and the 6th, 15th, and 22d regiments. At a block-house near the *saut*, which had been erected to harass the flotilla in its descent, he was engaged by a strong party of the enemy, with whom he contended for a few minutes, and at length compelled them to retire. This repulse was effected entirely by Major Forsythe, who was severely wounded in the engagement. General Brown then took a position near the foot of the *saut*

At the same time a number of British galleys and gun-boats approached the flotilla, now at the shore, and commenced a cannonade. The galley mounted a long twenty-four-pounder, which materially injured the American barges and it became necessary to run two eighteen-pounders on shore, and form a battery to resist the enemy's attack. One shot from this battery obliged the British to retire up the river; and it being then too late to trust the flotilla to the *saut*, the current in which allows no chance to land, or to pursue any other than its own course, the barges lay too until the morning of the 11th.

At ten o'clock on that day the flotilla was prepared to sail; and the division under General Boyd, consisting of his own and Generals Covington and Swartwout's brigades, was already formed in marching order, when an alarm was heard from the gun-boats, and the commanding general was apprized that the enemy were advancing in column. The increasing indisposition of General Wilkinson rendered him incapable of taking the field; General Lewis having declined the command in consequence of being ill also, General Boyd was ordered to turn upon and attack the British force. The enemy's gun-boats were advancing at the same time, with a view to attack the rear of the flotilla as soon as it should move off. The officers having it in charge were therefore directed not to leave the shore. General Boyd advanced upon the enemy, with his detachment formed in three columns, and forwarded a body of General Swartwout's brigade, consisting of the 21st regiment, to meet and bring the enemy to action. Colonel Ripley, with this regiment, ranged through the woods, which in a semicircle skirted Chrystler's fields, and drove in several parties of the skirmishers. Upon entering the open field, he discovered the British advance, consisting of the 49th and Glengary regiments, With these he immediately commenced an action, in which he twice charged these united regiments, either of which being more than equal to the 21st, and drove them over the ravines and fences by which Chrystler's field was intersected, when they fell upon their main body.

Meanwhile General Covington had advanced upon the enemy's right, where his artillery had been planted, and at the moment



General Ripley.

when the 21st assailed the British left flank, this brigade forced the right by a vigorous onset, and the result of the action was now looked to with great certainty. The gallant conduct of General Covington attracted the attention of a party of sharp shooters stationed in Chrystler's house, one of whom levelled his piece, and shot him from his horse. The wound proved to be mortal, and in two days after the general died. The fall of their commander threw that brigade into confusion, and it very soon broke before the enemy's artillery, and, together with the 16th, took shelter behind the 21st, which was still engaged with the British left and centre. Four pieces of artillery had been planted to en filade the enemy's right, but out of reach of support; and when Covington's brigade fell back, the British commander wheeled part of his line into column to attack and capture them.

A body of dragoons, under the Adjutant-General Walbach, attempted, in a very gallant manner, to charge the British column, but the nature of the ground prevented its being checked, and the intervention of the 21st between the cannon and the enemy alone retarded his advance. The British then fell back with much precipitation. The 25th, which had been disordered, was at this time in a ravine; and on all parts of the field skirmishes and detached battles were kept up with various success. The 21st

being out of ammunition, was withdrawn from the exposed positions of the ground, and a second attempt was soon after made upon the cannon. The death of Lieutenant William W. Smith, of the light artillery, who commanded one piece, enabled the enemy to capture the only trophy they obtained. The coolness and bravery of Captain Armstrong Irvine, saved the remaining pieces, which he brought off the field. The action immediately after ceased. It had been fought with distinguished gallantry by about seventeen hundred undisciplined men, against the same number of British veterans, and its duration was upwards of two hours. The enemy's force consisted of detachments from the 49th, 84th, 104th, the voltigeurs, and the Glengary regiment. These retired to their encampment, and the Americans to their boats.

The American loss on this occasion amounted to three hundred and thirty nine. One hundred and two of whom were killed. Among these were Lieutenants Smith, Hunter, and Olmstead. The loss in wounded was swelled by the rank and worth of the officers on that list. General Covington, Colonel Preston, Majors Chambers, Noon, and Cummings; Captains Foster and Townsend, of the 9th; Myers and Campbell, of the 13th; Murdoch, of the 25th; and Lieutenants Heaton, of the 11th; Williams, of the 13th; Lynch, of the 14th; Pelham, of the 21st; and Brown and Crary, of the 25th, were the officers composing it.

In this battle the victory was claimed on both sides. An impartial examination of the result, however, will either lead to the conclusion that it was a drawn battle, or that if any advantages occurred to either party, they were decidedly gained by the Americans. The front of the enemy had been forced back more than a mile in the early part of the action, and it never regained the ground thus lost. To use the words of the American general, his views and those of the British commander "were precisely opposed. The first being bound by the instructions of his government, and the most solemn obligations of duty, to precipitate his descent of the St. Lawrence by every practicable means; and the last, by equally imperative duties, to retard, and if possible, to prevent such descent. If then, he (the British commander) found himself victorious on this day, it was certainly in his power to



General Wilkinson.

have effected the one or the other object, and as he made no attempt to effect either, it follows incontestibly, that he had no fair ground on which to claim a victory." So far from obstructing the further descent of the river, the enemy never again assailed the column upon land, or the barges of the flotilla. Early on the morning of the 11th the army proceeded on its route, and reached Barnhart, near Cornwall, where it rejoined the advance. At this place General Wilkinson received a letter from General Hampton, in which he declined a meeting at St. Regis, the place named in the orders which had been sent to him on the 6th, and informed the commander-in-chief that he intended to march to Lake Champlain, and thence to co-operate in the attack upon Montreal. General Wilkinson immediately concluded that it would be useless to prosecute his route to Montreal any further, and that every prospect of a desirable termination to the campaign was destroyed. He therefore summoned together the principal

officers of that division of the army with which he was acting, who determined that the receipt of this despatch rendered it expedient that the army should quit the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence and go into winter quarters at French Mills, on Salmon river, which it accordingly did on the 13th instant. After having surmounted many perilous difficulties in the descent of a river crowded with various obstructions, the further prosecution of its passage was entirely abandoned by the united determination of the commander-in-chief and his council of war.

Whether the refusal, on the side of General Hampton, to form a junction with General Wilkinson at the St. Regis, instead of adopting his own plan of marching by Champlain and Cognawago, should have prevented the prosecution of the campaign to its original object, does not come within the province of these sketches to discuss. It is the business of the writer of them to be studiously impartial; and he does not hesitate to acknowledge his belief, that many circumstances are yet to transpire before the public opinion can be regulated. The order of the commander-in-chief, and the answer to that order, are the only papers which can, at this early day, be procured; and the reader has an opportunity of making up his own judgment from them.*

* HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE ARMY, DISTRICT No. 9, SEVEN MILES ABOVE OGDENSBURG, *Nov.* 6th, 1813, *in the evening.*

SIR:—I address you at the special instance of the secretary of war, who, by bad roads, worse weather, and ill health, was diverted from meeting me at this place, and determined to tread back his steps to Washington from Antwerp, on the 29th ultimo.

I am destined to, and determined on, the attack of Montreal, if not prevented by some act of God; and to give security to the enterprise, the division under your command must co-operate with the corps under my immediate orders. The point of rendezvous is the circumstance of greatest interest to the issue of this operation, and the distance which separates us, and my ignorance of the practicability of the direct or devious roads or routes on which you must march, make it necessary that your own judgment should determine that point. To assist you in forming the soundest determination, and to take the most prompt and effectual measures, I can only inform you of my intentions and situation in one or two respects of first importance. I shall pass Prescott to night, because the stage of the season will not allow me three days to take it; shall cross the cavalry at Hamilton, which will not require a day, and shall then press forward, and break down every obstruction to the confluence of this river, with Grand river, there to cross to the isle Perrot, and with my scows, to bridge the narrow inner channel, and thus obtain foothold on Montreal island, at about twenty miles from the city; after which our artillery, bayonets, and swords, must secure our triumph, or provide us honourable graves. Inclosed you have a memorandum of my field and battering train

Whilst General Wilkinson was engaged in concentrating the left division of the army at Grenadier island, preparatory to the

pretty well found in fixed ammunition, which may enable you to dismiss your own; bu we are deficient in loose powder and musket cartridges, and therefore hope you may be abundantly found. On the subject of provisions, I wish I could give as favourable information; our whole stock of bread may be computed at about fifteen days, our meat at twenty. In speaking on this subject to the secretary of war, he informed me that ample magazines were laid up on Lake Champlain; and therefore I must request you to order forward two or three months supplies, by the safest route, in a direction to the proposed scene of action. I have submitted the state of our provisions to my general officers, who unanimously agree, that it should not prevent the progress of the expedition; and they also agree in opinion, that if you are not in force to face the enemy, you shou ld meet us at St. Regis, or its vicinity.

I shall expect to hear from, if not to see you, at that place on the 9th or 10th inst.

I am, &c.

JAS. WILKINSON.

MAJOR-GENERAL W. HAMPTON.

P. S. I was preparing an express, which I should have despatched to-morrow, but for the fortunate call of Colonel King.

HEAD-QUARTERS, FOUR CORNERS, }
Nov. 8, 1813. }

SIR:—I had the honour to receive, at a late hour last evening, by Colonel King, your communication of the 6th, and was deeply impressed with the sense of responsibility it imposed, of deciding upon the means of our co-operation.

The idea suggested as the opinion of your officers, of effecting the junction at St. Regis, was most pleasing, as being the most immediate, until I came to the disclosure of the amount of your supplies of provisions. Colonel Atkinson will explain the reasons that would have rendered it impossible for me to have brought more than each man could have carried on his back; and when I reflected, that in throwing myself upon your scanty means, I should be weakening you in your most vulnerable point, I did not hesitate to adopt the opinion, after consulting the general and principal officers, that by throwing myself back upon my main depot, where all the means of transportation had gone, and falling upon the enemy's flanks, and straining every effort to open a communication between Plattsburg and Cognewago, or any other point you may indicate, on the St. Lawrence, I should more effectually contribute to your success, than by a junction on the St. Regis.

The way is in many places blockaded and abatised, and the road impracticable for *wheels* during winter; but by the employment of pack-horses, if I am not overpowered, I hope to be able to prevent you from starving.

I have ascertained, and witnessed, the plan of the enemy is, to burn and consume every thing in our advance. My troops, and other means will be described to you by Colonel Atkinson. Besides their rawness and sickness, they have endured fatigues equal to a winter campaign, in the late snows and bad weather, and are sadly dispirited and fallen off: but upon this subject I must refer you to Colonel Atkinson.

With these means what can be accomplished by human exertion, I will attempt, with a mind devoted to the general objects of the campaign.

W. HAMPTON

TO MAJOR-GENERAL WILKINSON.

descent of the St. Lawrence, General Hampton had determined on moving the right division from Champlain down the Chateaugay, for the purpose of obtaining a situation from which it could with more facility co-operate in the contemplated movements against Montreal. On the 21st of October he put his troops in motion, having first arranged a line of communication as far up the St. Lawrence as Ogdensburg. An extensive wood, filled with hewn timber, and covered with Indians and the enemy's light troops, threw an impediment in the way of the engineers who were to cut a road for the passage of the artillery and stores. General Izard had been detached with the light troops and one regiment from the line, to turn them in flank, and to seize on the open country below. In this he succeeded, and the main army advancing on a circuitous road, reached the advanced position on the evening of the 22d.

At a distance of seven miles from the ground on which the army encamped, was a wood which had been formed into an abatis, and was filled with a succession of breastworks, the rearmost of which was well supplied with ordnance. Behind these the disposable force of the enemy was placed, in front of them the light troops and Indians. Sir George Prevost was supposed to be the commander-in-chief of the forces and breastworks thus arranged. It was resolved to attack and dislodge him. Colonel Purdy, who commanded the first brigade, was ordered on the 25th to ford the river, and march down on its opposite side until he should reach the enemy's rear, where he was to recross the river and attack him in his breastworks; whilst the second brigade, under General Izard, was to assail him in front. The fire from one was to be the signal of attack for the other. Colonel Purdy accordingly marched down on the opposite bank, but had not proceeded far when he received a countermanding order from General Hampton, issued in consequence of a communication from the quartermaster-general's department, which the general deemed unfavourable to the prosecution of his plan.

In attempting to return to the place at which he had previously crossed the river, Colonel Purdy was attacked by the enemy's infantry and Indians, who were repulsed after a short contest, though they had thrown the American column into partial con-

fusion. The British at the same time came out of their works to attack the second brigade on the opposite side. They were repulsed at this point also, and General Izard drove them rapidly behind their defenses. The first brigade attempted the construction of a bridge of logs, and though it was assailed by a considerable force of the British regulars, and received a sharp fire across the river, the bridge was completed and Colonel Purdy recrossed his men. He was again attacked, and several times resisted the charges of the enemy. The army commenced a retreat after losing about fifty men; and as General Hampton received an account of the enemy's being continually reinforced, he resolved, on the advice of a council, to retreat to the Four Corners. The army accordingly, on the 31st, returned to a position which it held many days before. In these various skirmishes, Majors Snelling and Wool were particularly distinguished.

A *petite guerre* was kept up on the lines by Colonel Clark, who commanded a regiment of infantry acting as riflemen, which had already, on several important occasions, been of great annoyance to the enemy. But this incursive warfare was stopped soon after the return of General Hampton's division, and all the troops under his command were put into winter quarters in the course of the month of November, and the command resigned to General Izard.

Not long after the departure of General Wilkinson from Fort George, that post fell successively to the command of Colonel Scott, General Harrison, and General M'Clure of the New York militia; under each of whom frequent skirmishes took place. In one of these, Colonel Wilcocks, with the Canadian volunteer mounted regiment, behaved with personal bravery, and gave an augury of the services which the American government might expect from this new species of troops.

On the 10th of December it was ascertained that the enemy had collected a force of fifteen hundred regulars, and at least seven hundred Indians, and were proceeding on their march to Fort George, to expel the Americans from the garrison and the shores. The remnant of an army, of which the garrison was at that time composed, rendered the post altogether untenable, and General M'Clure determined on destroying the town of Newark and the

batteries by which it was protected, and evacuating Fort George, with a view to posting himself at Fort Niagara. Accordingly, having first given the inhabitants full notice of his intentions, he put them into execution, and crossed his force over to the American shore. Newark was left in flames, and the guns of Fort George were rendered useless. The British forces arrived only in time to find themselves without shelter, and were obliged to fall back to Queenstown. From this place General M'Clure attempted to dislodge them by the batteries at Lewistown, but without effect.

The British commander became highly incensed at the destruction of the town of Newark, and secretly resolved on the conflagration of Buffalo, Schlosser, and Lewistown, and the capture of Fort Niagara; the garrison of which they destined to be put to the sword. A surmise of these intentions of the enemy induced the American commander to transfer his head-quarters to Buffalo; to which place he immediately set out to provide for the protection of its citizens, and called forth the neighbouring militia *en masse*.

Fort Niagara was at this time garrisoned by three hundred and twenty-four sick and effective men, and was commanded by Captain Leonard, of the artillery, who, notwithstanding the notorious fact of the enemy's being within two hour's march of the fort, neglected to provide against an assault by night; and on the evening of the 18th took up his quarters at a farm two miles distant from his command. At four o'clock on the morning of the 19th, the enemy, four hundred in number, crossed the Niagara under Colonel Murray, and approached the principal gate, which was then open. Accompanied by his Indian warriors, he rushed furiously in upon the garrison, and in a few minutes put an end to all opposition. The only resistance which was made he received from the guard in the south-east block-house, and the sick who crawled out from their beds. What officers were within the fort, exhausted every means of defense of which the suddenness of the attack had not deprived them. On entering the garrison Colonel Murray received a wound in the arm; soon after which he yielded the command to Colonel Hamilton—under whose superintendence the women of the garrison were stript of their



Burning of Lewistown.

clothing, and many of them killed, and the persons of the dead officers treated with shocking indignity. In the mean time Captain Leonard arrived and was made prisoner, and out of the whole number of troops in the garrison, twenty only effected their escape. The British flag was immediately after unfurled, and the enemy had the entire command of the entrance to the Niagara.

In the course of the same morning about seven hundred Indians made an attack upon Lewistown, which was defended by a small detachment of militia under Major Bennett, who resisted the assailants until he was entirely surrounded, and then desperately cut his way through with the loss of eight men, and effected his retreat. This village, and those of Young's town, Manchester, and the Indian Tuscarora, were speedily reduced to ashes.—Whilst the Indians were engaged in firing Lewistown, Major Mallory boldly advanced from Schlosser, and attacked their outer guard at Lewistown heights, and compelled it to fall back to the foot of the mountain. The Indians were soon reinforced however, and the gallant Mallory was in turn obliged to retire. He retreated gradually to Tantawanty creek, occasionally turning upon, and fighting their advance guard, for two days, at the end of which time the Indians gave up the pursuit. In these affairs Major Mallory lost Lieutenant Lowe, of the 23d infantry, and eight men.

General M'Clure having collected nearly three thousand militia at Buffalo, left them under command of General Hall, and repaired himself to the village of Batavia, about twenty-eight miles from Buffalo, to provide for its protection against a sally from Fort Niagara. He had previously sent Lieutenant Riddle to that place, with all the regulars in the vicinity, amounting in the whole to eighty men, to secure the public arsenal. On his arrival at Batavia, after having organized a body of militia there, he ordered the regulars back to Buffalo, to encourage, by their example, the undisciplined troops of his division.

On the 30th the British landed six hundred and fifty men at Black Rock, and immediately proceeded to the village of Buffalo. Before they reached it, however, they were obstinately opposed by Colonel Bleeksly and two or three hundred raw and undisciplined militia. General Hall had fallen back about three miles

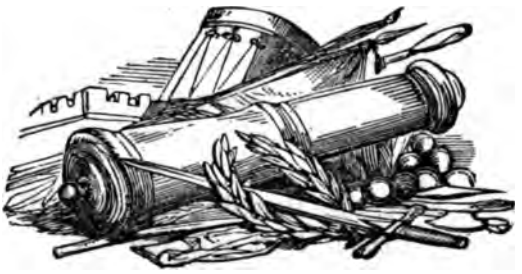
from Buffalo, when his force was met by Lieutenant Riddle and his regulars. The British had already entered the village, and the militia fled with the greatest precipitation. Riddle offered to march with his regulars in front, and thus to excite the timid militia to repulse the enemy, and drive him from the village. But the general, yielding to the unwillingness of his men, declined the proposal of the regular officer, who thereupon rode towards the village, to reconnoiter. He advanced within half a mile of its suburbs, and seeing that with a handful of spirited men, he could himself save the place from destruction, he returned to General Hall, and entreated him to place two hundred men under his command, with whom he promised at least to rescue the women and children, who would otherwise be sacrificed by the Indians, if not to drive out the enemy. General Hall was of opinion that this plan was impracticable. Lieutenant Riddle, therefore, was prevented from attempting it. By the exertion of Major Staunton and Major Norton, each of whom belonged to the village, about two hundred men were collected, and expressed their willingness to combat the British and Indians. These were advised that it was in vain to attack their enemy, and this advice was sanctioned by the general. At length, having become quite indignant at the timidity of the militia, Lieutenant Riddle took upon himself the responsibility of going forward with his own men, and of rescuing as much public property as they could bear away. He entered the upper part of the village, where he was informed by a citizen, that Colonel Chapin, who had, long before the flight of the militia, been ordered to take post at Conejockeda creek, had surrendered the place to the enemy, under the condition that they were to plunder, but not to burn it. The Indians were at that moment firing the houses. Lieutenant Riddle, with thirty men, then took from the arsenal, which had not been discovered by the enemy, about three hundred stand of arms, and some other public property, and having made two Indian prisoners, returned to the position occupied by General Hall.

On the following day, January 1st, (1814,) a small party of dragoons were ordered in advance of the whole militia, which General Hall marched to the vicinity of the village, in order to

make a show of force. Captain Stone, who commanded the advance, accompanied by Lieutenant Riddle, Lieutenant Totman, of the Canadian volunteers, and Lieutenant Frazer, of the 15th regiment, infantry, made several prisoners on the margin of the village, and having delivered them to the general, the latter immediately ordered his whole force to retire, and called in the advance for that purpose. Riddle and Totman, not knowing that the dragoons had fallen back, were left in the near neighbourhood of the enemy, and upon being discovered by a squadron of the British horse, they immediately put spurs to their own, and attempted to escape toward the rendezvous of General Hall's brigade. They very soon outstripped their pursuers, and were congratulating themselves upon their supposed escape, when another squadron of the enemy were perceived coming out of the road leading from Black Rock, and directing their course for Buffalo, between which and that road Riddle and Totman then were. Thus hemmed in on a narrow highway, with a superior enemy in front and in the rear, they saw no probable prospect of escaping, and would have given themselves up, but for the treatment which other prisoners on the Niagara had recently received, and the practice, which had about this time commenced, of making hostages. No alternative seemed to present itself, but that of cutting their way through the party in their front; and on this they mutually resolved. On their attempting to dash through, with violent impetuosity, the whole party discharged their pistols at them, one only of which took effect, and the unfortunate Totman fell from his horse. Riddle cut through with his sword, and having gained their rear, pushed his horse through a narrow lane on the left, and rode into a thick swamp, terminated by a forest. Through this the enemy did not choose to follow him, and he arrived at the head-quarters of the general on the same day, without having met with other obstacles.

In a few days after, the British evacuated all the positions they had captured except Fort Niagara. This they put in a better state of defense, and from it they made frequent incursions, which were ever attended by acts of violence upon the neighbouring inhabitants.

The campaign of 1813, in the north, was now drawn to its final close; and though a high degree of fulgency was thrown around the American arms, no one advantage was obtained to atone for the blood and treasure which had already been exhausted. The capital of Upper Canada had been taken. It was scarcely captured before it was abandoned. The bulwark of the province, Fort George, had been gallantly carried; but an inferior foe was suffered to escape, after being beaten, and the conquerors were soon after confined to the works of the garrison, and closely invested upwards of six months. The long contemplated attack upon Montreal was frustrated; Kingston still remained a safe and advantageous harbour in the hands of the enemy; and a fortress, which might have been long and obstinately, and effectually defended, was yielded with scarcely a struggle, and under circumstances mysterious in the extreme, to the retaliating invaders of the American Niagara frontier. In the course of the summer of 1813, the American army possessed every position between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, on both sides of the Niagara. In the winter of the same year, after having gradually lost their possessions on the British side of the stream, they were deprived of their possessions on their own. Another day may bring forward a developement of the causes which led to such unfavourable results; and posterity will be much better enabled to throw the censure on the proper officers than those who are their contemporaries.





CHAPTER XIII.

Commencement of the Naval Campaign of 1813.



THE United States sloop of war Hornet, having challenged to a combat the sloop of war *Bonne Citoyenne*, Captain Green, who declined an acceptance of the invitation, she was left before the port of St. Salvador, by Commodore Bainbridge, with orders to blockade the enemy's vessel of war, containing upwards of half a million of dollars, and two armed British merchantmen, then lying in that harbour. This blockade was vigilantly kept up until the 24th of January, 1813, on which day the Montague seventy-four, hove in sight, and chased the Hornet into the harbour, whence, however, she escaped in the night. Captain Lawrence, who still commanded her, then shifted his cruising ground; and after having captured a vessel of ten guns, laden with specie,



Hornet and Peacock.

guns thrown overboard, and every possible exertion used to keep her afloat, by pumping and bailing, until the prisoners could be removed. All efforts appearing to be entirely unavailing, the body of Captain Peake was inclosed in his own flag, and the ship sunk in five and a half fathom water, carrying down thirteen of her own, and three of the Hornet's crew. With the utmost difficulty, Acting-Lieutenant Conner and Midshipman Cooper, who were superintending the removal of the prisoners, effected their escape, by jumping into a boat which was lying on her booms, at the moment when the Peacock sunk.

The loss of the enemy amounted to thirty-three in wounded, three of whom afterwards died. The number of killed could not be ascertained, but four men, besides the captain were found dead on the Peacock's deck; and four men, in addition to the thirteen who sunk, were drowned. The loss on board the Hornet was one man killed, two slightly wounded in the action, and two severely, by the bursting of a cartridge. Her hull was scarcely injured, though the rigging and sails were cut, her foremast pierced through, and her bowsprit slightly injured.

The officers and crew of the Hornet were not behind those of any other ship, in emulating the example of Captain Hull and his brave companions; and the course and consequence of this engagement bore a striking similitude to that with the Guerriere Acting Lieutenants Conner and Newton, and Midshipmen Cooper, Mayo, Gets, Smoot, Tippet, Boerum, and Titus, behaved with that bravery which had now become almost inseparable from the American name. Lieutenant Stewart, the first officer of the ship, was unfortunately too ill to keep the deck, and Captain Lawrence was therefore deprived of the services of a meritorious and valuable officer.

This engagement took place in view of the ship of war which lay in Demarara river, the Espeigle; and Captain Lawrence, being apprehensive that she would beat out to the assistance of her consort, the Peacock, the greatest activity prevailed on board the Hornet, to repair damages, as soon as they were sustained, and by nine o'clock all the boats were stowed, new sails bent, and the ship completely prepared for another action. The Espeigle, of equal force with the Peacock, did not come out.

Captain Lawrence's crew had been on two-thirds allowance of provisions for several days; and the number of souls now on board amounting to two hundred and seventy, including those of the merchant prize, it became necessary that she should return to the United States. She shaped her course for New York, where she arrived about the twentieth of March. On the passage, her officers divided their clothing with the prisoners, who had lost their baggage; the crew of the ship gave up each a portion of theirs to the crew of the Peacock; and the private wardrobe of the captain, whose attentions to the wants of those whom the fortune of war had placed in his hands, and whose exertions to ameliorate their condition were unceasing, was given up to her officers. At New York, Captain Lawrence was received with universal joy; and his reception in other cities was similar to that which had been given to other naval commanders.

Many days had not elapsed after the arrival of the Hornet at New York, when the United States frigate Chesapeake, Captain Evans, of thirty-six guns, returned to the harbour of Boston, from a cruise of one hundred and fifteen days. During that time she had run down by the Madeiras, Canaries, and Cape de Verds, and thence down on the equator, where she cruised six weeks. Hence she proceeded down the coast of South America, and passed within fifteen leagues of Surrinam. On the 25th of February, the day after the conquest of the Peacock, she passed over the place at which that vessel had been sunk, and thence proceeded down by Barbadoes, Antigua, and most of the windward islands, thence on the coast of the United States, between Bermuda and the capes of Virginia, by the capes of the Delaware within twelve leagues, by New York within twenty, and thence by the east channel to Boston, where she terminated a cruise, on the 10th of April, marked by the capture of four valuable merchantmen, the chase of a British sloop of war, and an escape from two line of battle ships.

The command of this ship was then given to Captain Lawrence, her late commander, Captain Evans, having accepted the command of the New York station, and directions were immediately given to repair and re-equip her for another cruise. Commodore Rodgers had returned to that port also, from a cruise, in

which, though he did not capture any armed ship of the enemy, he drew from the coast such of his public vessels as were destined to blockade the different ports, and saved to the mercantile interest of the country many millions of dollars. The President and Congress were at that time the only vessels of his squadron. To keep these in port, the British frigates Shannon and Tenedos, each being of the largest class, appeared off the entrance to the harbour of Boston, and sent in frequent reports of their size, strength, and armament. Early in the month of May, however, Commodore Rodgers put to sea; but the British frigates avoided him by sailing from the coast.

In the course of that month the Shannon returned to the mouth of the harbour, and her commander, Commodore Brooke, sent in a challenge to the commander of the frigate Chesapeake. This challenge was not received by Captain Lawrence, but his ship being then in readiness, he understood the menacing manœuvers of the Shannon to be an invitation, and on the 1st of June, with a crew almost in a state of mutiny, and unacquainted with their new captain, and without his full complement of officers, his first lieutenant, Page, being sick on shore, he sailed out to meet, and give battle to the hostile ship. The Shannon sailed from the bay and put to sea, the Chesapeake following in chase, seven miles astern. At half-past four the Shannon hove to, with her head to the southward and eastward; and at half-past five, the Chesapeake hauled up her courses and was closing fast with the enemy. At fifteen minutes before six he commenced the action by firing his after guns on the starboard side, when the Chesapeake gave him a broadside; this was succeeded by a broadside from the Shannon, which killed the sailingmaster, Mr. White, and many of the crew, and wounded Captain Lawrence; he refused to quit the deck, however, and ordered a second broadside, the return to which wounded the captain a second time, and killed the fourth lieutenant, Ballard, and Lieutenant Broom of the marines. The Chesapeake then ranged ahead of the Shannon, when her jib sheet, the slings of the foretop-sail yard, her spanker brails, and her bowlines and braces being cut, she luffed into the wind and took aback, and fell with her quarter foul of the Shannon's starboard anchor. This accident gave a decided advantage

to the enemy, and enabled him to rake the Chesapeake. Captain Lawrence was all this while on deck, still persisting in his refusal to go below, when, having called for the boarders, he received a musket-ball through the body, and in a languishing state was carried down. At this moment the ship was deprived of all her principal officers; the first lieutenant, Augustus C. Ludlow, had been mortally wounded; several of the midshipmen and petty officers, besides the fourth lieutenant and the commanding officer of marines, were either killed or wounded, and the command of the ship devolved on her third lieutenant, Budd. The bravery and seamanship of this officer being already known to the crew, some hope remained of saving the ship, and of capturing the superior enemy. But, as Lieutenant Budd ascended the spar-deck, an arm-chest on the quarter was blown up by a hand grenade thrown from the Shannon's tops. The boarders very soon followed Lieutenant Budd, but before they reached the deck, Captain Brooke had determined that the Chesapeake could only be carried by boarding, and having already so many shot between wind and water in his own ship, that he became apprehensive of her sinking, he threw his marines on the Chesapeake's quarter-deck, and headed them himself. Lieutenant Budd immediately gave orders to haul on board the fore-tack, for the purpose of shooting the ship clear of the Shannon, and of attempting the capture of Captain Brooke, who had then two hundred of his crew on board the Chesapeake. On this effort the fate of the ship depended, and most of the American crew, mindful of the dying words of their gallant commander, whose injunction on them was "*Don't give up the ship*," several times attempted to succeed in it; but the boatswain having mutinied, and persuaded many of the men, who were dissatisfied at not having received their prize money of the last cruise, to join him below; the few who remained firm to their duty were soon overpowered; and Lieutenant Budd being wounded and thrown down to the gun-deck in attempting to gain the quarter, the scheme entirely failed, and the enemy gained complete possession of the upper deck. A great proportion of the crew, who had escaped a wound, nevertheless continued fighting; and Captain Brooke, as he was crossing the ship, was shot through the neck by the Chesapeake's

chaplain, Livermore, whom he instantly cut down; but he, almost as soon, received a wound in the head, and was then transferred to his own ship. The enemy's crew were now commanded by Lieutenant Watt, who stabbed and cut down the wounded and vanquished without regard to their cries of surrender. He was killed on the Chesapeake's deck, according to one account, by one of the Shannon's sailors, as he was placing, by mistake, the American over the English ensign; according to another, by an American sailor in the main-top, when in the act of killing a wounded marine. The enemy had now the entire possession of the Chesapeake; the English flag was flying at the different mast-heads, yet they continued to shoot at, and otherwise to wound her sailors. A volley of musketry was fired by them down upon the wounded, and one of the American midshipmen was assailed by a British marine with great violence after his submission to the Shannon's commander.



IN this engagement, the result of which is attributed to many fortuitous events, the superiority of the American gunnery was clearly evinced. The Chesapeake fired two guns to one of the enemy, and pierced the Shannon's side in so many places, that she was kept afloat with very great difficulty; whilst on the other side, the Shannon's broadsides scarcely injured the hull of the Chesapeake. At long shot, the engagement might have terminated differently; though the captain and crew were strangers to each other, the ship just out of port, and not in a fighting condition, and many of the sailors quite raw. Her rate was thirty-six guns, her force forty-eight. The rate of the Shannon was thirty-eight, her force forty-nine; and, in addition to her own crew, she had on board sixteen chosen men from the Bella Poule, and part of the crew of the Tenedos. She

lost in the engagement, besides her first lieutenant, the captain's clerk, the purser, and twenty-three seamen, killed; and, besides her captain, one midshipman and fifty-six seamen, wounded. On board the Chesapeake, the captain, the first and fourth lieutenants, the lieutenant of marines, the master, midshipmen Hopewell, Livingston, Evans, and about seventy men were killed; and the second and third lieutenants, the chaplain, Midshipmen Weaver, Abbott, Nicholls, Berry, and nearly eighty men wounded. The greater proportion of this loss was sustained, after the enemy had gained the deck of the Chesapeake.

Soon after the termination of the action, the two ships were steered for Halifax, where the bodies of Captain Lawrence and his gallant officers slain in the battle, were committed to the grave with the usual honours, attended by all the civil, naval, and military officers of the two nations, who happened to be in that port.

Not long after these honourable funeral obsequies had been performed by the enemy, Captain George Crowninshield, brother to the secretary of the navy, actuated by the laudable desire of restoring the body of the lamented Lawrence to his country and his friends, requested, and obtained, permission of the president to proceed in a flag vessel to Halifax, at his individual expense, for that purpose. The commanding officer of the British squadron, at that time blockading the eastern ports, Sir Thomas Hardy, readily assented to the free passage of Captain Crowninshield's brig, and he accordingly proceeded to effect his object, accompanied by twelve masters of vessels, who volunteered to compose the crew. The body was brought to the port of Salem, and entombed with the remains of its ancestors in New York, where the highest funeral honours were paid by the citizens, as a tribute of their respect and admiration, to their late gallant countryman.

The private armed vessels of the United States, the number of which had greatly increased since the account is given of them in a foregoing chapter of these sketches, were still cruising over the Atlantic, continually capturing, and otherwise annoying the commerce of the enemy, and occasionally engaging some of his public ships, in such gallant combats as are entitled, and

ought to be registered among the accounts of the most brilliant naval exploits.

The Comet, Captain Boyle, of fourteen guns, and one hundred and twenty men, being off Pernambuco, on the 14th of January, discovered four sail standing out of that place. This squadron consisted of three English merchantmen, the ship George, Captain Wilson, of fourteen guns, and the brigs Gambier, Captain Smith, and Bowes, Captain ———, of ten guns each, who were bound to Europe, under the protection of the fourth vessel, a Portuguese national ship of thirty-two guns, and one hundred and sixty-five men. The latter having exhibited the colours of her nation, Captain Boyle, stood for her, and received a communication of her character and object, accompanied by an injunction not to molest the merchantmen. Considering that the Portuguese had no right to afford protection to a British vessel, in the nature of a convoy, Captain Boyle informed her commander of his determination to capture them if he possibly could, and immediately sailed in pursuit. As they kept close together, the Comet opened her fire upon the three merchantmen, who returned it with alacrity. The man-of-war delivered a heavy fire of round and grape, and received in turn a broadside. The English occasionally separated from each other, to give the Portuguese a chance of crippling the Comet, whose captain, however, kept as near as possible to the merchantmen. Frequent broadsides were discharged, as opportunities varied, at the whole squadron, whose collected force amounted to fifty four guns, and in a few minutes the ship George struck her colours in a sinking condition. Soon after the brig Bowes struck also; but a broadside from the man-of-war prevented the Comet's boat from taking possession. Captain Boyle then repeated his attack upon the Portuguese, and obliged her to sheer off, with the loss of her first lieutenant and five men killed, and her captain and several men wounded. The third merchantman, the Gambier, then also surrendered, and the brig Bowes, was immediately taken possession of. So much were the others injured, that Captain Boyle deemed it improper to board them, and determined to lie to until morning, it being by this time excessively dark. Between the Portuguese and the Comet

several broadsides were exchanged in the course of the night, without any material effect. On the following morning, he man-of-war gave signal to the other ships to make the first port, and stood off herself with that view. The Comet brought her prize into the United States, making her way through a squadron which was blockading the southern ports. Before she arrived, however, she captured the Alexis, and Dominica packet, each of ten guns, and the Aberdeen of eight, in the presence of a British sloop of war, who was at the same time in full chase of the privateer.

On the 1st of February, the schooner Hazard, Captain Le Chartier, of three guns and thirty-eight men, captured the ship Albion, of twelve guns and fifteen men, being one of a convoy for Europe. On the 23d she was recaptured by the cutter Caledonia, of eight guns and thirty-eight men, from New Providence. Three days after, the Hazard fell in with both, engaged, and after an action of several minutes, compelled both to strike, but took possession of the prize only and carried her into St. Mary's. The Caledonia was very much injured, and most of her crew either killed or wounded. On board the Hazard, the first Lieutenant and six men were slightly wounded, but the hull and rigging were severely shattered by the grape from the two vessels.

The private armed schooner General Armstrong, Captain Champlin of eighteen guns, being within five leagues of the mouth of Surrinam river, on the 11th of March, discovered a large sail to be at anchor under the land. The crew of the General Armstrong supposed her to be an English letter of marque, and, consequently, Captain Champlin bore down with the intention of giving her a starboard and a larboard broadside, and then to board her. The stranger in the mean time had got sail on her, and was standing out for the American. Both vessels thus approaching each other, had come within gun-shot, (the Englishman firing the guns on his main deck,) when the General Armstrong discharged both the contemplated broadsides, and discovered too late that her antagonist was a heavy frigate. She nevertheless kept up her fire, though attempting to get away, but in ten minutes she was silenced by the enemy. The



Gallant action of the General Armstrong

shot of the General Armstrong brought down the enemy's colours, by cutting away her mizzen gaff, halyards, and her mizzen and main stay; and Captain Champlin, presuming that she had struck, made preparations to possess her; but the frigate opened another heavy fire upon the schooner, killed six, and wounded the captain and sixteen of her men; shot away the fore and main shrouds, pierced the mainmast and bowsprit, and struck her several times between wind and water. In this condition she laid upwards of forty-five minutes, within pistol-shot of the frigate; but, by the extraordinary exertions of the crew and the aid of sweeps, she got out of the enemy's reach, and arrived at Charleston on the 4th of April.

On the 3d of that month, the privateer Dolphin, of ten guns, still commanded by Captain Stafford, who had engaged and captured two of the enemy's vessels, mounting twenty-six guns, was attacked at the mouth of the Rappahannock river, by seventeen barges from a British squadron. The barges carried upwards of forty men each; the Dolphin was manned by sixty. Two letters of marque lying there also, soon yielded, but Captain Stafford resolved on defending his vessel. The battle continued two hours, when the enemy succeeded in boarding. The Dolphin's crew fought with great desperation on her deck, and the engagement was kept up many minutes longer before the vessel was captured. The enemy took down her colours, and lost in killed and wounded nearly fifty men. On board the Dolphin four men were wounded.

In the course of the summer the United States sloop of war the Enterprise, Lieutenant-Commanding Burrows, of sixteen guns, met, engaged, and captured, after a severe and obstinate fight, the British sloop of war Boxer, Captain Blythe, of eighteen guns, and brought her into port. The captains of both vessels were killed in the engagement. Lieutenant-Commandant Burrows expired at the moment the enemy's vessel struck her colours, and she was then taken possession of by Lieutenant M'Call.*

At a harbour near Gwinn's island, Lieutenant St. Clair of

* A more particular account of this action in the next naval chapter.



Enterprise and Boxer.

the navy, who had previously distinguished himself as an able seaman in the sloop of war Argus, anchored a small schooner mounting two or three guns, and filled with armed men, to repel the depredations which the enemy were about that time committing along the shores of the Chesapeake. He encountered a schooner, who hailed and ordered him to come on board with his boat, which being refused, an engagement followed and terminated in silencing the strange vessel. She, however, renewed it a second and a third time, and was as often silenced. The night was excessively dark, and when Lieutenant St. Clair sent his boat to take possession, he discovered that she had made her escape, leaving him with one man wounded on board the schooner.

This succession of sea engagements was closed by a brilliant attack made by a privateer upon a large sloop of war. The schooner Commodore Decatur, of ten guns, commanded by Captain Dominique, engaged the sloop of war Dominica, Lieutenant Commandant Barret, of fourteen guns, and after a well contested action carried her by boarding, and brought her into the United States. No event, probably, in the naval annals, furnishes evidence of a more brilliant and decisive victory gained by a vessel so inferior in size, strength, and armament, to her antagonist.





CHAPTER XIV.

Operations on the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays.



THE declaration of war against Great Britain was no sooner made known at that court than its ministers determined on sending into their provinces of Canada the veteran regiments of their army, and adopted effectual measures to forward to the coast of the American states a naval force competent to blockade its principal bays and rivers. Incensed at the successes of the American naval arms over the frigates and sloops of war of their nation, they hastened the departure of their different fleets, and in retaliation for the invasion of their provinces by the American troops, instructed their commanders to burn and otherwise to destroy, not only the coasting and river craft, but the towns and villages on the navigable inlets; and more particularly in the southern department of the Union. Early in the spring of 1813 detachments of these fleets arrived at the mouth of the Delaware, and at the entrance to the

Chesapeake bay. Others were to rendezvous at Bermuda, and thence to proceed to the reinforcement of the blockading squadrons.

In the month of March, the Poictiers seventy-four, Commodore Beresford; the frigate Belvidere, and several smaller vessels of war entered the bay of Delaware, and destroyed great numbers of small trading vessels. In the course of that month, they were repeatedly repulsed in their attempts to capture others which lay near the shore, by the militia of Delaware; and several instances occur of sharp fighting, which tended to improve the discipline of the volunteers of that state.



AMONG other expedients for obtaining supplies, a demand was made upon the people of Lewistown for a supply of provisions for the blockading squadron, which being spiritedly refused, on the 6th of April, Sir John P. Beresford directed Captain Byron to move as near the town, with the Belvidere, as the waters would permit him, and, having first notified its inhabitants, to bombard it until his demands were complied with. On the night of the 6th, the bombardment accordingly took place; the enemy's gun-boats approached near enough to throw their thirty-two pound balls into the town, but their bombs fell far short of their object. Colonel Davis, who commanded at that time, had already removed the women and children, and returned the enemy's fire from an eighteen-pounder battery, with which, in a few minutes, he effectually silenced one of the gun-boats. The cannonade continued nearly twenty hours; at the end of which time, the enemy drew off his vessels and descended the bay, having discharged upwards of six hundred shot, shells, and congreve rockets. The shells did not reach the town; the rockets passed over it; but the thirty-two pounders injured several of the houses.

On the 10th of May, the same squadron proceeded from their anchorage to a place seven miles distant from Lewistown, and sent out their barges to procure water from the shore. Colonel Davis immediately despatched Major George Hunter, with one hundred and fifty men, to oppose their landing, which the major

did with much gallantry, and compelled them to return to their shipping. The Poictiers and the Belvidere then sailed out of the bay for Bermuda; and the militia took up the buoys, which had previously been set in the river by the enemy.

The Spartan frigate having entered the Delaware soon after the departure of this squadron, attempted, on the 31st of the same month, to land about sixty of her men near Morris's river, on the Jersey side, with a view to obtain provisions. A small party of the militia of that state, however, hastily collected and drove them off before they had an opportunity of visiting the farmers' houses.

In the month of June, the frigate Statira and the sloop of war Martin, reinforced the enemy, and had captured many large merchant vessels bound up the Delaware. The whole trade between the capes and Philadelphia, and many of the intermediate places, was liable to be intercepted; and, unless they were protected by a convoy, the small vessels usually employed on the river, did not attempt to sail. On the 23d, a squadron of nine gun-boats and two armed sloops, under Lieutenant-Commandant Angus, of the navy, convoyed three sloops laden with timber for a forty-four, then building at Philadelphia, under the eye of the enemy. The gun-boats engaged the two frigates, whilst the sloops effected their passage, and the Statira and Spartan moved from their anchorage to a situation out of reach of annoyance.

A merchant sloop having entered the bay on the 22d of July, on her return from sea, was cut off by the Martin sloop of war, which had just reappeared in the Delaware. The sloop ran aground to avoid capture; and although she was afterwards attacked by a tender and four barges well manned and armed, a hasty collection of militia with one field-piece, under Lieutenant Townsend, drove off her assailants, and saved the sloop.

A detachment of the gun-boat flotilla, being at this time but a few miles off, were apprized of the attack made by the sloop of war, and Captain Angus immediately proceeded down the bay, with eight gun-boats and two block sloops. On the 29th he discovered the Martin, grounded slightly on the outer ridge of Crow's shoals, and determining to attack her in that situation, he anchored his squadron within three-quarters of a mile of the

enemy, and opened a fire from the whole line. The Junon frigate came up to the assistance of the sloop of war, and anchored within half a mile below her. Between both of the enemy's vessels, mounting in all sixty-nine guns, and the gun-boat squadron a cannonade followed, and continued about one hour and forty-five minutes; in all which time scarcely a shot struck either of the gun-boats, whilst at almost every fire the latter told upon the hulls of the sloop and frigate. This difference of effect in the firing being discovered by the British, they manned their launches, barges, and cutters, ten in number, and despatched them to cut off the boats on the extremity of the line.

No. 121, a boat commanded by Sailingmaster Shead, which, by some accident, had fallen a very great distance out of the line, and was prevented from recovering its situation by a strong ebb, and the wind dying away, became the object of attack from the enemy's barges. Eight of them, mounting among them three twelve-pound carronades, and carrying one hundred and fifty men, assailed the gun-boat at one time. Mr. Shead continued, nevertheless, to sweep her toward the squadron, and to discharge his twenty-four pounder alternately at one or the other of the pursuing barges, until they gained so fast upon him, that he resolved to anchor his boat and receive them as warmly as the disparity of numbers would permit him. He then gave them a discharge of his great gun with much effect, though to the injury of the piece, which being fired a second time, and the carriage breaking down, it became necessary to oppose the enemy, who were closing fast, by the boarders. With these Mr. Shead resisted them, until his deck was covered with men, and the vessel entirely surrounded by the barges. Such was the impetuous fury of the English sailors, that the Americans were driven below, and the authority of the enemy's officers could scarcely protect them from violence. The flag was struck, and the boat carried off in triumph to the men-of-war.

In this assault the British lost seven killed and twelve wounded. On board the boat, seven men were wounded, but none killed. The squadron was all this time firing at the enemy's ships, who retired after capturing Mr. Shead, the Martin having been extricated from her situation on the shoal. On board the flotilla not

a man was injured, and but one of the boat's rigging cut; this was No. 125, commanded by Sailingmaster Moliere. The engagement continued nearly two hours, and was the last affair of any consequence which occurred in the Delaware during this year.

In and along the shores of the bay of Chesapeake, where the blockading squadron consisted of four seventy-fours, several frigates and large sloops of war, and a number of tenders and barges kept for the purpose of navigating the smallest inlets, depredations of every kind, and to a very extensive degree, were carried on with unremitted avidity. The various farms, bounded by the different creeks and rivers, tributary to the bay, became the scenes of indiscriminate and unjustifiable plunder. The stocks of many of them were completely destroyed; the slaves of the planters, allured from their service, armed against their masters' defenseless families, and encouraged to the commission of every kind of pillage. Along a coast of such an extent it was almost impossible to station troops to resist every incursion, or to draw out, and transfer from one point to another with sufficient celerity, even the neighbouring militia. But many instances occurred, notwithstanding, in which the invaders were opposed, and sometimes severely repulsed, by a handful of militia, collected without authority, and frequently without a leader.

On the shores of the Rappahannock, one of two divisions of the enemy was beaten and routed with loss, by a small party of Virginia militia. In the neighbourhood of Easton (Maryland) they took possession of several islands. From Sharp's, Tilghman's, and Poplar island, they obtained provisions for the fleet, and attempted many incursions to the opposite shores, their success in which was prevented by bodies of cavalry and infantry, which the spirited citizens of Maryland had arranged at different rendezvous along the shores of the bay, in anticipation of a visit from the blockading fleet.

The commanding officer of the fleet, Sir John B. Warren, was at this time in Bermuda, making preparations for its augmentation; and the vessels then in the bay were commanded by Rear Admiral George Cockburn. About the latter part of April, this officer determined on attacking and destroying the towns most

contiguous to the head of the bay; and for this purpose, on the 29th, he led a few hundred of his marines, in the barges of his ship, the Marlborough, to the attack of Frenchtown, a place containing about six houses, two storehouses, and several stables; and important only because of being a place of intermediate depot, between Baltimore and Philadelphia. A party of militia from Elkton, too inferior to the invaders to justify an attempt at resistance, retired on their approach, and Admiral Cockburn landed his marines and destroyed the storehouses, in which were deposited a quantity of goods belonging to merchants of those cities, of immense value, and a splendid architectural drop curtain and other paintings, belonging to the Philadelphia and Baltimore theatres. The marines being no professed admirers of the arts, these were destroyed without much hesitation. The private houses were saved by the interference of some respectable citizens; and after plundering the others, and setting fire to two vessels lying in the harbour, the British returned to their shipping.



THE town of Havre de Grace, situated on the west side of the Susquehanna, about two miles from the head of the bay, and through which the great post-road passes, was the next object in the plan of the admiral's operations. On the morning of the 3d of May he proceeded to its assault with nineteen barges, and when within a short distance of the town commenced a tremendous bombardment, accompanied by the firing of cannon and the discharge of numerous rockets. In expectation of an attack from the enemy, the people of Havre de Grace had made preparations for the defense of the place, and a battery had been erected of two six-pounders and one nine.

At the time of the assault the inhabitants were in their beds, and there being no sentinels, the first notice they had of the approach of the enemy was from the discharge of one of his pieces. The battery had been assigned as a place of rendezvous in the event of an attack; but such was the surprise which the presence



Attack on Havre de Grace.

of the enemy excited, and so incessant his discharges of shells and rockets, that five or six men only were fearless enough to repair to their breastwork and resist the approaches of the British barges. This small party kept up a fire from the battery until the enemy's advance commenced its debarkation; when all, except O'Neill, an old citizen of Havre de Grace, abandoned their posts, and following the militia, who had fled with shameful precipitation, left the women and children of the place to the mercy of the invaders. O'Neill continued, with great difficulty, to discharge one of the six-pounders, until in recoiling it ran over his thigh and rendered him incapable of further resistance in that way. But collecting all his strength, he armed himself with two muskets, and retreating from the battery to the rear of the town, vainly endeavoured to retard the flight of the militia.

In the mean time the whole body of the enemy had landed, and were actively engaged in destroying the houses. They set fire to those which had not been injured by their shells, broke the furniture, and cut open the bedding of the citizens to augment the flames; destroyed the public stages, maimed the horses, cut to pieces the private baggage of the passengers, tore the clothing of some of the inhabitants from their backs, and left to others those only which they wore. Women and children, flying in every direction to avoid a relentless foe, and to seek protection from their own countrymen, were insulted by the morose seamen and marines; and the only house which yet remained entirely uninjured, was sought by one and all as an asylum. In this, which was a spacious and elegant private mansion, several ladies of the first distinction had taken refuge, and among them the wife of Commodore Rodgers. An officer, who had just before made prisoner of O'Neill, was entreated to suffer this house, at least, to escape the general conflagration: but as he was obeying the orders of Admiral Cockburn, the most he could do was to suspend his purpose until those unprotected women could prevail upon the admiral to countermand them. The only act partaking of the least degree of humanity which the admiral could boast of on this occasion, was his compliance with these earnest entreaties.

Having spread desolation through the whole town, and destroyed the doors and windows of a handsome church contiguous

to it, the admiral divided his party into three sections, one of which remained in the town to give notice of the approach of danger; the second proceeded on the road leading toward Baltimore, plundering the houses and farms between Havre de Grace and Patterson's Mills, and robbing private travellers on the highway of their money and apparel; and the third went six miles up the river to a place called Cresswell's Ferry, whence, after committing many acts of outrage, they returned to concentrate their force at the place of landing. Here the admiral ordered them to re-embark, and having crossed the Susquehanna, the whole squadron of his barges made round the point which is formed at its entrance, and shaped their course three miles further up the bay, where the party relanded, repaired to those important and valuable works, Cecil furnace, where lay upwards of fifty pieces of elegant cannon, the only legitimate object of destruction which the invaders had yet met with. These they spiked, stuffed the muzzles with clay and broken pieces of iron, and knocked off the trunnions. Not content, however, with demolishing them and destroying other implements of war, they battered down the furnace, which was private property, set fire to the stables belonging to it, and as the last act of atrocity with which this expedition was destined to be marked, they tore up a small bridge constructed over a deep, though narrow creek, and over which travellers of every description were obliged to pass, or venture through a wider channel at the imminent hazard of their lives.

Having attained all the objects of this enterprise, the British sailors and marines returned to their shipping in the bay; and on the 6th they sailed from the neighbourhood of Havre de Grace, to the great joy of its distressed and ruined inhabitants. O'Neill, who had dared to resist them in the early stage of their proceedings, was taken on board the blockading fleet, and detained there several days. Such of the inhabitants as were not left entirely destitute, were deprived of those articles of property which could relieve others; and it became necessary to apply for assistance to the principal and most opulent town of Maryland. The citizens of Baltimore relieved the sufferers, and preparations were soon after made to rebuild the houses.

In the relation of such scenes as those which occurred at

Havre de Grace, it seldom happens that an account is to be given of the killed and wounded in an action. In the slight resistance which was made by O'Neill and his companions, however, the enemy had three men killed and two wounded. Of the inhabitants, one man was killed by the explosion of a rocket.

Fraught with the immense booty that he had brought away from Havre de Grace, and finding his sailors and marines to be elated at the facility which the prospect of an attack on other equally defenseless towns held out of enriching themselves, the rear admiral contemplated an early assault upon such as he should discover to contain the most valuable spoil. The treachery of some citizens of the republic, and the easy intercourse which he kept up with his appointed agents, such as are employed by officers on all stations, enabled him to discover the situation of those towns and villages along the bay shore with as much readiness, as he could be wafted by his ships from one point of assault to another. On the river Sassafras, emptying itself into the bay, at a short sailing distance from the admiral's anchorage, and separating the counties of Kent and Cecil, stood nearly opposite each other, the villages of Georgetown and Fredericktown, containing, either of them, about twenty houses. These had attracted the attention of Admiral Cockburn, and he determined on the possession of the property of the inhabitants. On the 6th, he therefore entered that river, with eighteen barges, each carrying one great gun, and manned altogether by six hundred men.

Fredericktown was his first object. At this place one small cannon had been mounted, and about eighty militia collected, under Colonel Veazy, on the approach of the barges. The latter commenced a heavy fire, and having discharged an immense number of langrage rockets, grape shot, and musket balls within a very few minutes, more than one-half of the militia fled. Thirty-five only, under the colonel, stood their ground, and worked the cannon with such skill, that the boats, whose fire was principally directed at the battery, suffered very severely. The invaders were gallantly resisted for more than half an hour, when they effected a landing, and marching towards the town, compelled the militia to reure. Colonel Veazy effected his

retreat in excellent order. Admiral Cockburn then marched at the head of his men to the village; where, after having plundered the houses of their most valuable movables, he set fire to every building in the town. The entreaties of the distressed women and children availed not with the admiral; and he would not quit the place until he had entirely deprived them of every refuge. Whilst the flames were raging in every part of Fredericktown, the admiral moved over Sassafras river to Georgetown, and demolished all the stone, and burned the wooden buildings. The wretched inhabitants of the opposite towns were left to console each other, and the enemy's squadron of barges, glutted with fresh spoil, retired to their shipping.

Succeeding this affair were several repulses of small parties of the enemy from the shores of the bay. Many attempts were made to land at the different farms, and the barge crews frequently assailed the planters' houses and took off provisions, clothing, money, and plate.

About this time, too, Admiral Warren issued a proclamation from Bermuda, declaring, besides the Chesapeake and Delaware, the ports of New York, Charleston, Port Royal, Savannah, and the whole of the river Mississippi to be in a state of rigorous blockade. From all these ports, however, notwithstanding the efficiency of Admiral Warren's force, the public ships of war of the United States, the private armed vessels, and numerous merchantmen were daily putting to sea. Prizes to these, which had been captured at immense distances from the coast, were continually sent into the harbours declared to be blockaded; and neutral vessels did not hesitate to enter and depart at the pleasure of those concerned in them. Admiral Warren shortly after arrived in the Chesapeake with an additional fleet, and a large number of soldiers and marines under General Sir Sidney Beckwith. Between these officers and Admiral Cockburn various plans were designed for the attack of the more important assailable towns.

By the capture of the bay craft they were well supplied with tenders to the different vessels of the fleet; and the strength of their armament enabled them to equip the craft in a warlike manner. The revenue cutter Surveyor, Captain Travis, was



Burning of Fredricktown.

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assailed by the barges and tender of the Narcissus frigate, on the 10th of June, near York river; and, after a gallant resistance, was captured by a force nine times superior to her own. This cutter was transferred to the British service, and frequently employed in penetrating the narrow passes and rivulets along the shore. The depredations of the enemy, received about this time, however, a salutary check from several private armed vessels, which had been hired into the American service to cruise along the bay.



N that quarter the enemy's force consisted of seven seventy-fours, twelve frigates, and many smaller vessels; and from their suspicious movements and menacing attitudes, the citizens of all the surrounding towns became apprehensive of an attack. Hampton and Norfolk were thought to be their more immediate objects; and preparations were made at the latter to man all the works which had been previously constructed. At Norfolk, the militia force very soon consisted of ten thousand men. At Hampton, a force of not more than four hundred and fifty men had yet been organized.

On the 18th three of the frigates entered Hampton roads, and despatched several barges to destroy the small vessels coming down James river. Two or three gun-boats being in the vicinity of that river, obliged the barges to retire, and communicated to the naval commander of the station, Commodore Cassin, intelligence of the approach of the frigates. The flotilla of gun-boats in Elizabeth river, on which Norfolk is situated, was then commanded by Lieutenant-Commandant Tarbell. The frigate Constellation was moored at the navy-yard opposite Norfolk, and it was determined by Commodore Cassin to man fifteen of the gun-boats from the crew of the Constellation, and to despatch them against that frigate of the enemy, which was reported to be three mile[illegible] others.

On the 19th, Captain Tarbell proceeded with his boats in two divisions; Lieutenant Gardner having command of the first, and Lieutenant R. Henly of the second. The prevalence of adverse winds prevented his coming within reach of the enemy until four P. M. of the 20th, at which hour he stationed his divi sions, and commenced a rapid fire at the distance of three-quar ters of a mile. The frigate opened on the boats, and the cannonade continued half an hour, to the great injury of the frigate, (the Junon,) when the other frigates were enabled, by a fresh breeze. to get under way to the assistance of their companions. Captain Tarbell was then obliged to haul off to a greater distance, still, however, keeping up a well-directed and incessant fire upon the enemy's whole squadron. The first frigate was by this time so much injured that her fire was only occasionally delivered; and, between the others and the gun-boats, the cannonade was prolonged one hour longer; in which time several heavy broadsides were discharged at the flotilla. Captain Tarbell then withdrew from the engagement, with the loss of one killed, Mr. Allison, a master's mate, and three of the boats slightly injured. The enemy were supposed to have suffered severely. The frigate first engaged was so much shattered, that the vessels which came to her assistance, were obliged to employ all their hands to repair her. In this affair the Americans had fifteen guns; the British one hundred and fifty and upwards. Captain Tarbell's conduct, as well as Lieutenants Gardner, Henly, and others, received the fullest approbation of the surrounding garrisons, and of the citizens of Norfolk.

The firing during this action being distinctly heard by the enemy's fleet in the bay, and fears being entertained by the admiral about the safety of the three frigates, thirteen sail of the line of battle ships and frigates were ordered to proceed to Hampton roads. In the course of the 20th, they dropped to the mouth of James river, where they learned the cause of the recent cannonade, and determined on forthwith reducing the forts and garrisons, on which the defense of Norfolk depended.

An immense number of barges were apparently preparing for an attack on Crany island, the nearest obstruction to the enemy's advances. Captain Tarbell directed Lieutenants Neale, Shu-

brick, and Saunders, each of the Constellation, to land one hundred seamen on that island, to man a battery on its north-west side, and disposed the gun-boats so as to annoy the enemy from the other

At the dawn of the 22d, the British approached the island with their barges, round the point of Nansemond river, to the number of about four thousand men, many of whom were French, from time to time made prisoners by the English, and occasionally received into their service. The place at which they had chosen to land was out of the reach of the gun-boats, and when they had approached within a few hundred yards of the shore, the gallant Lieutenant Neale, assisted by Shubrick and Saunders, opened a galling fire from his battery, and compelled the enemy to make a momentary pause. The battery was manned altogether by one hundred and fifty men, including Lieutenant Breckenridge and his marines. An eighteen-pounder which was stationed at it, was fired with such precision, that many of the barges were cut through the middle, and would inevitably have carried down the crew, but for the immediate assistance rendered by the others of the squadron. Every attempt to approach the shore having heretofore failed, and the admiral's boat, the Centipede, upwards of fifty feet in length, and filled with men, being pierced in so many places, that she sunk as soon as she was abandoned, the enemy, whose seamen were falling in every barge, determined on returning to his shipping with as little delay as possible. But, even in his retreat, he suffered severely from the small battery.

Whilst this gallant resistance was made to his approaches from the water, by the naval division on the island, the enemy's troops, who had landed on the main shore, and crossed a narrow inlet to the west side, were warmly engaged with the Virginia volunteers. Previously to the movement of the barges, upwards of eight hundred soldiers had been landed by the enemy at the place above mentioned, and were already crossing the inlet, which, at low water, is passable by infantry. Colonel Beatty, who commanded the military division on the island, made instant and ju dicious preparations to receive the enemy. Under Major Faulk ner, of the artillery, two twenty-four-pounders and four six-pounders, had been drawn up to resist them. One division of this battery was commanded by Captain Emmerson, and two

others by Lieutenants Howl and Godwin. The enemy's troops had not all landed when this cannon was opened upon them with great address; and those which had not crossed the gulf, were compelled to retreat, by the velocity and precision of the fire. Those which had already gained the island, fell back to its rear, and threw several rockets from a house which stood there; but they were very soon dislodged by one of the gun-boats, in which a twenty-four-pounder was brought to bear upon the house, and with great difficulty escaped from the island; when, joining the troops who had been previously repulsed, they were all conducted back to the British fleet.

When that division of the enemy which was composed of his seamen and marines, had been foiled in its attempt to land, Lieutenant Neale gave directions to his intrepid sailors to haul up the boats which had been sunk, and to assist the British sailors and marines, who were making for safety to the shore. The Centipede was accordingly drawn up, and a small brass three-pounder, a number of small arms, and a quantity of pistols and cutlasses, taken out of her. Twenty-two of her men came on the island with her, and surrendered themselves as deserters. In this warm and spirited engagement, in which three thousand British soldiers, sailors, and marines, were opposed to four hundred and eighty Virginia militia, and one hundred and fifty sailors and marines; the loss on the side of the invaders in killed, wounded, and drowned, was upwards of two hundred, exclusive of forty deserters; on the side of the invaded, not a man was either killed or wounded.

By the gallant services of the defenders of this island the safety of the town of Norfolk was, for a time at least, secured, and to the intrepid bravery and indefatigable exertions of Lieutenant Neale and his companions, Shubrick, Saunders, and Brecken ridge; of Lieutenant-Colonel Beatty and his officers, Major Faulkner, Captain Emmerson, and Lieutenants Howl and Godwin, and two non-commissioned volunteers, Sergeant Young and Corporal Moffit, and the valiant men who assisted in the defense of the island, the gratitude of the citizens of Norfolk and the surrounding towns, Portsmouth, Gosport, and others, has been frequently manifested.

Immediately after this repulse of the British a conference was held between Admirals Warren and Cockburn, and Sir Sidney Beckwith; the result of which was a determination to revenge the loss they had sustained, and to facilitate the success of their next attempt by cutting off the communication between the upper part of Virginia and the borough of Norfolk. This communication they supposed to be entirely commanded by the small garrison at Hampton, an inconsiderable town eighteen miles distant from Norfolk, and separated from it by Hampton roads. Their troops, exasperated at the failure of the recent expedition against Crany island, were well disposed to retaliate the consequences of a repulse; and their commanders availing themselves of the intemperate spirit which was manifested throughout the fleet, resolved on forwarding an expedition against this weak position with the least possible delay. All things being ready upon their part, they proceeded on the 25th, three days after the late engagement, with upwards of two thousand men, in a large squadron of their principal barges. Of these, the 102d regiment, two companies of Canadian chasseurs, and three companies of marines composed the advance, under Lieutenant-Colonel Napier. The remainder of the troops consisted of royal marine battalions, under Lieutenant-Colonel Williams, the whole commanded by Sir Sidney. A number of launches and rocket-boats, filled with sailors, and covered by the sloop of war Mohawk, Captain Pechell, were commanded by Admiral Cockburn, and directed to take a station before the town to throw in the rockets and keep up a constant cannonade, whilst the troops under Sir Sidney should land at a distance of several miles below the town, and gain the rear of the undisciplined American militia. The plan of operations being thus arranged, the movement was commenced at the dawn of day, and with this irresistible force and equipment the enemy proceeded to assault a garrison of three hundred and forty-nine infantry and rifle, sixty-two artillerymen, with four twelves and three sixes, and twenty-seven cavalry, making in all a force of four hundred and thirty-eight men.

On the approach of that division of the enemy which was to attack from the water, Major Crutchfield, the commandant at Hampton, immediately formed his troops on Little England

Plantation, which was divided from the town by a narrow creek, over which a slight bridge had been previously constructed. The enemy's barges were approaching this creek and keeping up a fire of round shot, until they gained Blackbeard Point, when the four twelve-pounders were opened upon them with so much effect, that Admiral Cockburn thought it advisable to draw back and shelter himself behind the point. Thence he continued to throw his rockets, and twelves and eighteens, nearly an hour, without doing the smallest injury to the encampment; his shot either falling short of his object or going over it.

Meantime Sir Sidney had landed and was coming down the great road on the rear of the Americans, when Major Crutchfield being apprized of his march, had despatched a rifle company under Captain Servant, to conceal themselves in a wood near which the invaders would be obliged to pass. Captain Servant executed his orders with the utmost precision, and annoyed the advancing British column with great severity. But his force was too inefficient to sustain a contest of any length of time, and Major Crutchfield seeing that the barges would not approach until they knew of the arrival of Sir Sidney within the camp, drew out the infantry forces to the aid of the riflemen, and to prevent the enemy's cutting off his retreat. As this portion of the Americans were marching in column near a defile which led to Celey's road, they were fired upon by the enemy's musketeers from a thick wood at two hundred yards distance. Major Crutchfield imme diately wheeled his column into line and marched towards the thicket to return the fire and rout the enemy. He had not advanced fifty yards before the British delivered him a fire from two six-pounders, accompanied by an unexpected discharge of rockets. Being now apprized of the danger of proceeding in that direction against ordnance with so small a force, he wheeled again into column and attempted to gain a passage through the defile in the woods, at the extremity of which Captain Servant with his riflemen had heretofore kept the British in continual check. His column, under the fire from the two sixes, was not formed with as much celerity as it had been displayed, but he succeeded at length in putting it in marching order, and proceeded to the defile. Captain Cooper, with the cavalry, was at

this moment engaged with the enemy's left flank, and notwithstanding the fatigue which his troops had already experienced in patrolling, he annoyed them so successfully, that the British general, augmenting the strength of that flank, issued a direction to cut him off. In this the enemy did not succeed, and Captain Cooper, drawing up his troops in a charging column, effected his retreat with great skill and intrepidity.

The column under Major Crutchfield had now gained, and were passing through the defile, under a constant fire from the enemy's six-pounders. It had just attained the wood, on the left of the riflemen, when a third six-pounder opened upon it, and in conjunction with the others, threw into confusion the different companies of which the column was composed. Several platoons immediately took up their retreat; but those which were nearer the head of the column, led on by Major Crutchfield and Major Corbin, wheeled with great judgment into the wood, and forming on the rifle corps, under their separate captains, Shield and Herndon, kept up the action with an unflagging spirit, until it was deemed necessary for the whole body to retreat. Captain Pryor, who had been left in the encampment with the artillery, to continue the fire upon the enemy's barges, resisted their approaches until the sailors had landed in front of the town, and the British troops were in his rear. They had already advanced within sixty yards of his battery; his corps were ready to yield themselves up as prisoners of war, and the royal marines were preparing to take them. They saw no possibility of escaping, until their gallant commander gave an order to spike the gun's, and break through the enemy's rear. Intrepid as himself, they executed his commands; and pressing furiously through the British marines, whom they threw into a temporary derangement, found their further escape obstructed by the creek. Captain Pryor still determined on retiring beyond the enemy's reach, threw himself into the creek, and commanding his men to follow, with their carbines, effected the retreat of his corps in good order, and without an individual loss. Such was the disparity of force, when the barge crews and the troops of the enemy had effected a union, that the retreat of the whole American detachment became indispensable, and Major Crutchfield gave an order

to that effect. The British general pursued the retreating column about two miles, without effecting any purpose, though the latter frequently halted, formed behind fences, and delivered a smart fire.

The American loss in this action amounted to seven killed twelve wounded, eleven missing, and one prisoner—total, thirty one. The British loss, by the acknowledgment of many of their officers, amounted to ninety killed, and one hundred and twenty wounded—total, two hundred and ten. Among these were one colonel and one captain of marines, killed; and three lieutenants, wounded. Admiral Warren's official letter, however, allows but five killed, thirty-three wounded, and ten missing—total, forty eight.

If the account of the affair at Hampton could be closed, by no further reference than to the gallantry of Captains Ashly, Cary, Miller, and Brown, of the militia; Captain Goodall, of the United States artillery, and Lieutenants Anderson, Armistead, and Jones, who were all conspicuously engaged in it, a painful recital would have been spared of occurrences disgraceful to the arms of the enemy, unjustified by the principles of civilized warfare, and unparalleled even by the enormities committed on the north-western frontier. The troops under Sir Sidney, and the sailors under Admiral Cockburn, no sooner found themselves in possession of the town of Hampton, than they indulged in a system of pillage, not less indiscriminate than that which had attended the visit of most of the same men to Havre de Grace. To these acts of cruelty and oppression upon the unresisting and innocent inhabitants, they added others of the most atrocious and lawless nature, the occurrence of which has been proved by the solemn affirmation of the most respectable people of that country. Age, innocence, nor sex, could protect the inhabitants, whose inability to escape obliged them to throw themselves upon the mercy of the conquerors. The persons of the women were indiscriminately violated. The brutal desire of an abandoned and profligate soldiery were gratified, within the view of those who alone possessed the power and authority to restrain them; and many of the unfortunate females, who had extricated themselves from one party, were pursued, overtaken, and possessed

another. Wives were torn from the sides of their wounded husbands; mothers and daughters stripped of their clothing in the presence of each other; and those who had fled to the river side, and as a last refuge had plunged into the water, with their infant children in their arms, were driven again, at the point of the bayonet, upon the shore, where neither their own entreaties and exertions, nor the cries of their offspring, could restrain the remorseless cruelty of the insatiable enemy, who paraded the victim of his lust through the public streets of the town. An old man, whose infirmities had drawn him to the very brink of the grave, was murdered in the arms of his wife, almost as infirm as himself, and her remonstrance was followed by the discharge of a pistol into her breast. The wounded militia who had crawled from the field of battle to the military hospital, were treated with no kind of tenderness, even by the enemy's officers, and the common wants of nature were rigorously denied to them. To these transcendant enormities, were added the wanton and profligate destruction not only of the medical stores, but of the physician's drug-rooms and laboratories; from which only, those who had been wounded in battle, and those upon whose persons these outrages had been committed, could obtain that assistance, without which, they must inevitably suffer the severest privations.



TWO days and nights were thus consumed by the British soldiers, sailors, and marines, and their separate commanders were all that time quartered in the only house, the furniture and interior decorations of which escaped destruction. On the morning of the 27th, at sunrise, apprehensions being entertained of an attack from the neighbouring militia, whom, it was reasonably conjectured, the recital of these transactions would rouse into immediate action, the British forces were ordered to embark; and, in the course of that morning, they departed from the devoted town, which will immemorially testify to the unprovoked and unrelenting cruelty of the British troops. They had previously carried off the ordnance which had been employed in defense of the town, as trophies of their victory; but, when

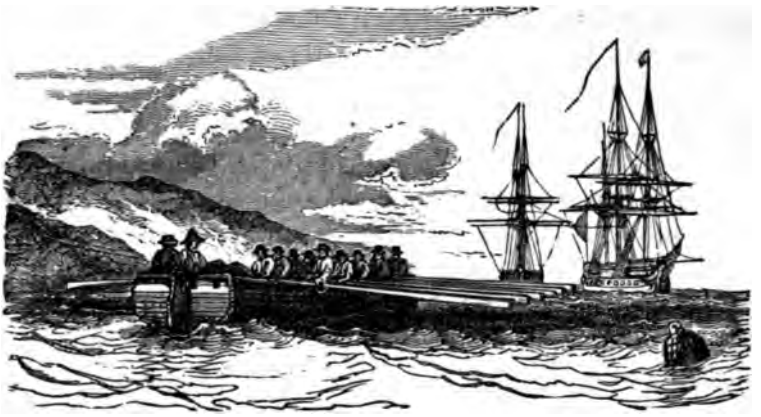
they determined on withdrawing from the place, they moved away with such precipitation, that several hundred weight of provisions, a quantity of muskets and ammunition, and some of their men were left behind, and captured on the following day by Captain Cooper's cavalry. Having abandoned their intentions of proceeding to another attempt on the defenses of Norfolk, the whole fleet stood down to a position at New Point Comfort, where they proposed watering, previously to their departure from the bay, on an expedition against a town in one of the eastern states.

Such was the agitation of the public mind throughout Virginia, which succeeded the circulation of the account of the assault on Hampton, that representations were made to General Robert R. Taylor, the commandant of the district, of the necessity of learning from the commanders of the British fleet and army, whether the outrages which had been committed, would be avowed, or the perpetrators punished. That able officer immediately despatched his aid to Admiral Warren with a cartel for the exchange of prisoners, and a protest against the proceedings of the British troops, in which he stated, that "the world would suppose those acts to have been approved, if not excited, which should be passed over with impunity;" that he "thought it no less due to his own personal honour, than to that of his country, to repress and punish every excess;" that "it would depend on him (Warren) whether the evils inseparable from a state of war, should, in future operations, be tempered by the mildness of civilized life, or under the admiral's authority, be aggravated by all the fiend-like passions which could be instilled into them." To this protest Admiral Warren replied, that he would refer it to Sir Sidney Beckwith, to whose discretion he submitted the necessity of an answer. Sir Sidney not only freely avowed, but justified the commission of the excesses complained of; and induced the American commander to believe the report of deserters, that a promise had been made to the fleet of individual bounty, of the plunder of the town, and of permission to commit the same acts, if they succeeded in the capture of Norfolk.

Sir Sidney stated that "*the excesses at Hampton*, of which General Taylor complained, *were occasioned by a proceeding at Crany island.* That on the recent attack on that place the

troops in a barge which had been sunk by the fire of the American guns, had been fired on by a party of Americans, who waded out and shot these poor fellows while clinging to the wreck of the boat, and *that with a feeling natural to such a proceeding the men of that corps landed at Hampton.*" The British general expressed also a wish that such scenes should not occur again, and that the subject might be entirely at rest. The American general, however, alive to the reputation of the arms of his country, refused to let it rest, and immediately instituted a court of inquiry, composed of old and unprejudiced officers. The result of a long and careful investigation which was forwarded to Sir Sidney Beckwith, was that none of the enemy had been fired on after the wreck of the barge, except a soldier who had attempted to escape to that division of the British troops which had landed, that he was not killed, and that so far from shooting either of those unfortunate men, the American troops had waded out to their assistance. To this report Sir Sidney never deemed it necessary to reply, and the outrages at Hampton are still unatoned. Many of the unhappy victims died of wounds and bruises inflicted on them in their struggles to escape, which baffled the medical skill of the surrounding country.





CHAPTER XV.

Operations of the British in Long Island Sound.

RELINQUISHING the contemplated attack upon one of the eastern ports, and adopting a plan of operations against the towns and harbours to the southward of those which had already been assailed, Admiral Warren detached the largest proportion of his fleet, under Rear-Admiral Cockburn, to proceed on an expedition against Ocracoke and Portsmouth, two flourishing harbours in the state of North Carolina. Early in July, a force of eleven sail appeared off the first of those places, and on the 13th of that month, the rear-admiral crossed the bar with a great number of barges, attacked two letters of marque, the Anaconda of New York, and the Atlas of Philadelphia, and after being gallantly resisted by the small crews of those vessels, carried them by boarding. The revenue cutter, which was then in the harbour, effected her escape, conveyed intelligence to Newbern of the approach of the enemy, and thus frustrated the remainder of the admiral's plans. About three thousand men were then landed at Portsmouth, where they destroyed the private property of the inhabitants, and treated the place with no more forbearance than they had shown at Georgetown and Fredericktown. The collector of the customs was seized and taken on board the fleet, and

the building destroyed in which his office was contained. After remaining two days in possession of these places, the enemy returned to his shipping, and not feeling himself competent to the attack on Newbern, now that its citizens were preparing to receive him, he departed with his squadron from Ocracoke, and sailed again for Chesapeake bay.

The fleet, which had been keeping up the blockade in those waters, had been divided by Admiral Warren, and the different vessels distributed along the coast, from New London to Cape Henry, to watch the entrances to the harbours of Connecticut, New York, and the Delaware. In the Chesapeake, no further assaults were made upon the villages; but the farmhouses, the neighbouring country seats, and the stock upon the lands, and the numerous islands which could be approached by the smallest barges, were indiscriminately plundered. Such islands were taken possession of as afforded quarters for the troops, and frequent excursions made from them against the defenseless landholders, in their vicinity.



ON the 14th, the United States schooners Scorpion and Asp, being under way from the mouth of Yeocomico river, were pursued by two of the enemy's sloops of war, and, finding it impossible for both vessels to escape through the bay, the Scorpion continued her course, while the Asp, a dull sailing vessel, returned to the river, and was run into Kinsale creek by her commander, Sailingmaster Segourney. The enemy's vessels anchored near the bar, and despatched three barges, filled with armed men, to assault and carry her. As these were approaching, Mr. Segourney opened a well-directed fire, and compelled them, in a little time, to return. Reinforced, however, by two other barges, manned in like manner, they again approached the schooner, and carried her by boarding, though obstinately resisted by her little crew, to whom they refused to show quarter. Her commander had been shot through the body by a musket ball, and was sitting on the deck against the mast, when they carried her, and brought down her colours. In this attitude, and suffering under the severity of his wound, he was, at that moment, animating his men to repel the boarders, when

one of the British marines stepped up and shot him through the head. He expired instantly, and the next officer, Mr. M'Clintock, seeing what would be the probable fate of the whole crew, ordered his men to save themselves by flight. Those who had not previously been wounded, reached the shore in safety; and the enemy having set fire to the schooner, returned to the squadron, though not before they had been fired upon by a collection of militia, who retook the vessel, and extinguished the flames.

The Poictiers, seventy-four, still commanded by Sir John P. Beresford, had been stationed for several weeks at Sandy Hook, for the purpose of blockading the harbour of New York. Numbers of small vessels had been daily captured by her, and one of them, the sloop Eagle, was converted into a tender to the line of battle ship, manned with two officers and eleven marines, and equipped with a thirty-two brass howitzer. She was constantly employed in the pursuit and capture of the coasters, and had already committed various depredations. Commodore Jacob Lewis, who commanded a flotilla of thirty sail of gun-boats, determined on protecting the fishing boats and river craft, by the capture of this tender. He accordingly hired a fishing smack called the Yankee, and placing about thirty men on board, under one of his sailing-masters, (Percival,) and, supplying him with several articles of live stock, gave him instructions to proceed from the hook in the direction of the banks, with his armed men concealed in the cabin and fore peak. The sloop Eagle, upon discovering her at the hook, immediately gave chase; and, on seeing the live stock, ordered the man at the helm, Mr. Percival, who, with two men only on deck, was dressed in the apparel of a fisherman, to steer for the seventy-four, then lying at a distance of five miles. The fishing smack had her helm immediately put up for that apparent purpose, and, being by this means brought along side, and within three yards of the Eagle, her commander gave the signal, "*Lawrence,*" and her men rushed up with such rapidity, and discharged so brisk and unexpected a fire, that the crew of the Eagle became panic-struck, and many of them ran below. Her commander Sailingmaster Morris, and one marine were killed, and Midshipman Price, and another mortally wounded. Percival's men were prepared for a second discharge, when a sailor

on the enemy's deck was seen creeping to the howitzer with a lighted match, one of the crew of the Yankee levelled his musket and shot him in the breast, and in a second after, the flag of the Eagle came down. The sloop and the prisoners were then taken into the hook, and delivered to the commodore, who proceeded with them to New York, where Morris and Price, who died immediately after landing, were buried by the naval and military authorities. Mr. Percival was promoted to the new sloop of war Peacock, and the brass howitzer was transferred to the quarter deck of the commodore's flag-boat.

In consequence of Commodore Decatur's having proceeded with the frigates United States and Macedonian, and the sloop of war Hornet, through the sound to get to sea from the eastward, and of his having been driven with his squadron into New London by a superior detachment of the enemy's ships, that port was rigorously blockaded by the Ramilies seventy-four, two frigates, and several smaller vessels, under Commodore Sir Thomas M. Hardy. Every effort to get to sea under the auspices of dark nights and favourable winds, having proved unavailing in consequence of the enemy's being continually apprized of the designs of the American commodore, he was blockaded for many months without a prospect of escaping, either by the ordinary channel or by the sound. Between detached parties from each squadron several affairs of minor importance took place during the blockade, and in one of them Midshipman Ten Eyck, of the United States frigate, made prisoners of two lieutenants, two warrant officers, and five seamen, in a house on Gardner's island. Incursions into the neighbouring states were frequent from the British forces; but though extensive numbers of shipping were destroyed, the conduct of the sailors and marines under Sir Thomas Hardy was not marked by the indiscriminate commission of unrestrained and wanton outrage, of which there were too many incidents on the coast to the southward, and the houses of the different villages, as well as individual property, were therefore, almost invariably respected. The general deportment of Commodore Hardy was that of a brave, humane, and gallant enemy, and had his conduct been emulated by other commanders, the horrors, and distressed conditions of a state of war would

have been ameliorated on both sides, and the necessity of many instances of retaliatory measures might never have existed.

During the winter months of 1813–14, scarcely an event of consequence took place on any part of the coast, or at any of the shores of the bay and rivers in which the enemy's vessels were anchored. The town of Killingworth, alone, had an opportunity of repelling three or four distinct attempts to land, and of beating off superior numbers in British barges.

Early in the spring of 1814, however, the enemy made several movements indicative of his intentions to pursue an active course of warfare. On the 7th of April about two hundred sailors and marines entered Connecticut river in a number of barges and landed at the town of Saybrook, where they spiked the guns at a small battery and destroyed many trading vessels. Thence they ascended the river to Brockway's ferry, destroyed all the shipping there, and amused themselves, without any apprehensions of an attack, upwards of twenty-four hours. In the mean time a body of militia had assembled, under command of a brigadier-general of Connecticut; one hundred men and several field-pieces were stationed on the opposite shore, and two pieces and a party of men on the ferry side below; Captain Jones, and Lieutenant-Commandant Biddle, of the Hornet, arrived with a detachment of sailors from the squadron; and every thing was arranged for the capture of the whole party of the enemy. The success of the plan was inevitable; the word only of the general commanding was waited for, and as he was making other arrangements than those adopted by these experienced officers, the enemy drifted down the river, with muffled oars, under cover of a dark night, cheered loudly when they had passed the town of Saybrook, and escaped to the squadron after destroying two hundred thousand dollars worth of shipping. Several shot were fired after them, but without effect.

About this time the Liverpool Packet privateer was cruising, with great success, against the American commerce in the sound, and had already annoyed the coasting trade to an enormous extent. Unless this cruiser was driven from the sound no coaster could sail from one port to another, with any assurance of safety. Commodore Lewis determined on an expedition against her. He

sailed with a detachment, consisting of thirteen of his gun-boats, drove the privateer from the mouth of the harbours in the sound, and proceeded to Black Rock, New Haven, and Saybrook.

At the latter place he anchored on the 23d of May, and found upwards of forty sail of coasting vessels lying there, bound eastward, but the masters of which were fearful of the privateer and the enemy's barges. The commodore was applied to for convoy; and, though he knew not whether he could yield any kind of protection against a frigate, a corvette, and an armed sloop, at that moment in the passage before New London, he took the coasters under convoy, and agreed to throw himself between them and the enemy. On the 25th he accordingly sailed with the convoy bound for New London, and at 5 P. M. came to action with a frigate, a sloop of war, and a tender, and continued the engagement until all the coasters had safely passed the enemy and arrived at New London. This being done, although the whole object of his attack was achieved, Commodore Lewis determined upon trying the further effect of his hot shot. The boats were each supplied with a furnace; and, whilst they were pouring hot balls into the enemy's sides, and frequently setting him on fire, they received in return, scarcely a shot from either of his vessels. Gun-boat No. 6 was alone injured; and, being struck between wind and water, was immediately grounded, to prevent her sinking.

The sloop of war had by this time withdrawn from the engagement; and the fire of the gun-boats was principally directed against the frigate. She was observed several times to be on fire; one shot passed through her very near the magazine, seventeen of her men were already killed, and a lieutenant and a great number of men wounded; and the captain was on the point of surrendering, when he discovered that the gun-boats had ceased firing. The night closed in immediately, was excessively dark, and the commodore found himself obliged to anchor his boats, and reconnoiter the enemy until next morning. He intended to board the sloop, but she was stationed between the two ships, and that project was therefore useless. At daylight, observing the enemy towing away their vessels and retreating, he instantly made signal for pursuit; but the report of the cannonade had

brought the whole British force, consisting of seven large sail, to their assistance, and the commodore abandoned his intention of renewing the action, and proceeded up the sound to New York, with the enemy in his rear, as far as Faulkner's island. The loss on board the flotilla was one man, by the recoiling of a gun. The frigate was supposed to be the Maidstone of thirty-eight, and mounting forty-nine guns; but several sailors who deserted from her and were in this action, reported her to be the Hotspur of the same force. The consequences of this engagement, and that which took place below Crany island, have occasioned much speculation about the utility of gun-boats. In each instance it was undoubtedly proved, that, under such circumstances as attended them, the gun-boats are capable of great annoyance to the largest ships of war. Commodore Lewis, whose activity and enterprise rendered him of all other men capable of manœuvering them to advantage, saved an immense amount of property to the mercantile interest of the country, by his repeated cruises with them in and near the sound.

But the operations of the immense naval armaments, which were maintained by the enemy before the ports of New York, Boston, New London, and the entrance to the sound, were not to be checked by a flotilla of boats, however well appointed, consisting in all of but thirty sail; and the whole eastern coast was therefore exposed to the ravages of the invaders. The towns and villages there were as exposed and defenseless as those to the south; but a degree of forbearance was manifested by the commander on this station, which prevented the commission of such extensive depredations. Yet an insatiable thirst for plunder, induced many of the British cruisers to seek the destruction of every species of public property, of the most flourishing manufacturing establishments, and of vessels carrying on a trade between the eastern and other ports; and the cupidity of the sailors and marines frequently led to the sequestration of private property. At the towns of Wareham and Scituate, they burned all the vessels at their moorings; and at the former, which they approached under a flag of truce, they set fire to an extensive cotton manufactory. But at a place called Boothbay, they met with a spirited opposition; and in several desperate attacks, re-

peated on different days, and with various numbers, they were repulsed with considerable loss, by the militia of the neighbourhood.

About the month of July the blockading squadron, under Sir Thomas Hardy, received instructions to assail and take possession, in his Britannic majesty's name, of Moose island, near the mouth of the Kobbeskook river, opposite to the province of New Brunswick, and on the western side of Passamaquoddy bay. This bay was adjudged, by the British ministers, to be within the boundary of their possessions in North America, and after the capture of Moose island, their forces were directed to occupy all the towns and islands within its limits. On the 11th of that month, Sir Thomas proceeded with the Ramilies, seventy-four, one sixty-gun ship, three sloops-of-war, and three transports, containing between fifteen hundred and two thousand troops, with an intention of surprising the town of Eastport, containing about one thousand inhabitants, and situated upon Moose island.

Against this force, no kind of opposition could be made by a small garrison, containing but fifty-nine men, forty-eight of whom only were effectives; and Major Putnam did not attempt to molest the troops, who had already landed. Formal possession was then taken of the whole island; the officers in the garrison paroled, the privates conveyed to the squadron, the fort, which then mounted but six small cannon, enlarged, refitted, and the battery extended to sixty pieces; and a proclamation issued by Sir Thomas Hardy and Lieutenant-Colonel Andrew Pilkington, in which they declared all the islands to have been surrendered by the capture of Eastport; allowed seven days residence to such inhabitants as should refuse to swear allegiance to his Britannic majesty; and appointed a day on which they were to assemble for that purpose. About two-thirds of the people submitted to these terms, under an expectation of retaining their privileges; but, in the month of August, the province of New Brunswick, in council, ordered that the inhabitants of Moose island should not be entitled to the rights of their other subjects, notwithstanding their oath of allegiance; but that they should be treated as a conquered people, and placed under the control of the military authority. Eastport was soon after well fortified,

and remained in possession of the British until the conclusion of the war; before which period, however, their garrison was frequently weakened by desertions of large bodies of their troops; the officers were often compelled to perform the duties of sentinels; and the difficulties of subsisting the army and the people daily increasing by the extreme scarcity of provisions.

Having thus secured the possession of Moose island, and provided for its defense against any attempt to recover it by the Americans, Sir Thomas sailed to his old station, before New London. On the 9th of August he made signal for the Pactolus frigate, forty-four, the Terror bomb ship, and the Despatch brig of twenty guns, to weigh anchor, and sail with the Ramilies to the attack of the town of Stonington, which the commodore had been ordered to reduce to ashes. The appearance of this formidable force before a town, which possessed but weak and inadequate means of defense, excited an alarm among the inhabitants, which the message of Commodore Hardy, to move off the unoffending people of the place, was not calculated to subdue. But, having complied with the terms of the commodore's note, and disposed of the women and children, they repaired to a small battery, which had been erected, a few weeks before, and in which were mounted two eighteen-pounders and one six. Those who had been drilled as artillerists were stationed at these pieces; the flag was nailed to a staff, and a small breastwork, which had been hastily thrown up, was lined with musketry.

Thus arranged, the handful of militia belonging to Stonington awaited the approach of the enemy with painful anxiety. Expresses were forwarded to General Cushing, of the United States army, commanding at New London, for a supply of men and ammunition; and, to the neighbouring districts, for a hasty levy of militia.

At eight in the evening, five barges and a large launch, filled with men, and armed with nine-pounder carronades, approached the shore, under cover of a heavy fire of round, canister, and grape shot, and a discharge of shells, carcasses, and rockets. The Americans, reserving their fire until the barges were within short grape distance, opened their two eighteen-pounders upon,

and compelled them to retire out of reach of the battery. The enemy then attempted to land at the east end of the town, at a point which they supposed to be the most defenseless. This being discovered by the militia artillerists, the six-pounder was immediately transported to that side of the town, and the barges were a second time compelled to retire. They returned to their shipping, with a determination to renew their attack with more vigour at the dawn of the following morning. The bombardment, nevertheless, continued until midnight.

Before morning the enemy's squadron was augmented by the arrival of the Nimrod, eighteen-gun brig, and at the dawn of day the different vessels were stationed nearer to the town, the Despatch being within pistol-shot of the battery. The barges approached the shore in larger numbers and met with as signal a repulse as on the preceding night. One of them was shattered to pieces by the four-pounder on the east side of the town, whilst a cannonade was kept up between the eighteen-pounder battery and the gun-brig, which resulted in her expulsion from her anchorage She had received several shot between wind and water, and was obliged to haul off and repair; the barges again returned to the shipping, and the five vessels drifted out of reach of the battery, made new anchorage, and continued to bombard the town during that and the following day. On the 12th Commodore Hardy, relinquishing any further attempt to reduce the town to ashes, and having already lost twenty-one men killed, and upwards of fifty wounded, ordered his squadron to weigh anchor and proceed up Fisher's island sound. The inhabitants of Stonington were released from their apprehensions about the safety of their dwellings, and the women and children, some time after, restored to their homes.

Notwithstanding the bombardment had been protracted to three successive days, and upwards of sixty tons of metal had been thrown upon the shore, not a man of the militia was killed, and the number of wounded did not exceed six. Among them was Lieutenant Hough, who, as well as Colonel Randal and Lieutenant Lathrop, greatly contributed, by their activity and skill, to the repulse of the enemy. Stonington contained, at the time of the attack, about one hundred houses; forty of these were injured by

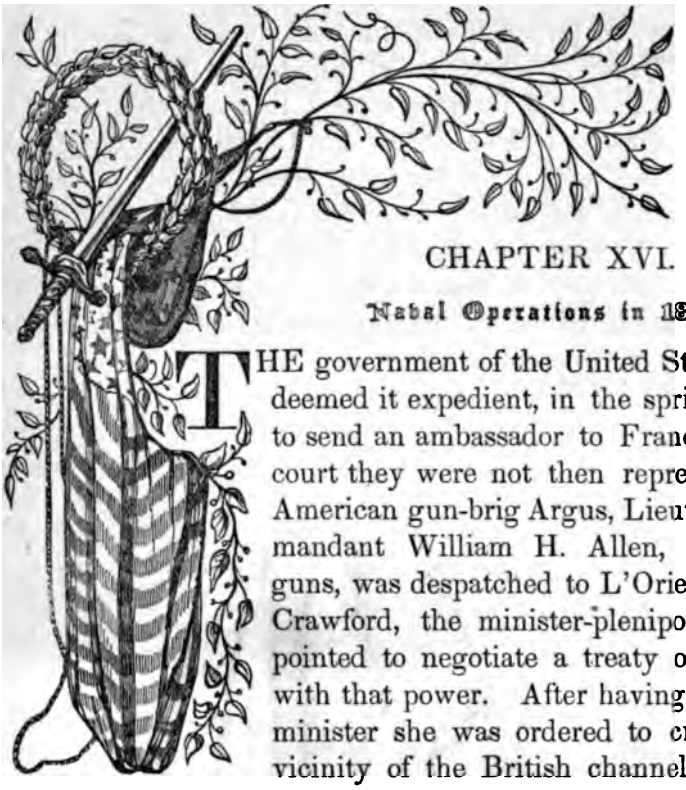
the shot—but ten only materially—and but two or three entirely destroyed.

NOT content with possessing Moose island, and other islands of the bay, the British claimed, as a colony, all that part of the district of Maine lying to the west of, and between Penobscot river and Passamaquoddy bay, and instructions were also forwarded to Sir John C. Sherbrooke, the governor of Nova Scotia, and Rear-Admiral Griffith, commanding the naval forces within that province, to take possession of all that territory. These commanders entered the Penobscot river on the 1st of September; appeared before Castine, from which the garrison fled, after blowing up the fort, and which the British immediately occupied. A proclamation was then issued by the governor and the admiral, in which they claimed as the territory of his Britannic majesty, that part of the province of Maine east of the Penobscot, in which there were more than forty villages, and upwards of thirty thousand inhabitants. After possessing Castine many of these villages were gradually occupied, and ordinances were established for the civil and military government of the people. Castine, also, remained in the hands of the enemy until the conclusion of hostilities.

The United States frigate Adams, Captain Morris, had arrived in the Penobscot from a successful cruise, a few days before the occupation of Castine, and having run upon the rocks near that port, was obliged to be hove down at Hampden, thirty-five miles up the river, to have her damages repaired. On the 3d of September the British sloop of war Sylph of twenty-two guns, the Peruvian of eighteen, and one transport and ten barges, ascended the river, manned in all with about one thousand men from Castine, under command of Commodore Barrie, with a determination to capture the frigate. Captain Morris erected several batteries on eminences near his vessel, supplied the militia, who were without arms, with the ship's muskets, and made every preparation to repulse the enemy. Notwithstanding these judicious arrangements, and the readiness of the ship's crew to resist the enemy's attempts, the militia could not be brought to oppose an inferior

number of British regulars; and, flying precipitately from the ground, left no other alternative to Captain Morris than to surrender his crew, or destroy the Adams and retreat to Bangor or Kennebeck. Under the direction of Lieutenant Wadsworth of the ship, the sailors and marines retired in good order over a bridge which crossed a deep creek; but Captain Morris and a few men who remained to set fire to the vessel, having succeeded in blowing her up, was cut off from this retreat, and compelled to plunge into the river and effect his escape by swimming. Disappointed in the object of their expedition, the British returned to Castine, and conducted an incursive warfare against the towns in the vicinity of that port.





CHAPTER XVI.

Naval Operations in 1813.

THE government of the United States having deemed it expedient, in the spring of 1813, to send an ambassador to France, at which court they were not then represented; the American gun-brig Argus, Lieutenant-Commandant William H. Allen, of eighteen guns, was despatched to L'Orient with Mr. Crawford, the minister-plenipotentiary appointed to negotiate a treaty of commerce with that power. After having landed the minister she was ordered to cruise in the vicinity of the British channel, where she arrived about the middle of June, and continued to cruise until the same time in August. During this period she captured in St. George's channel upwards of twenty vessels, coasters and others, and excited a great degree of alarm among the towns upon the English coast. In consequence of her activity in making captures, and the danger to British vessels in passing through the channel, the insurance upon coasters could no longer be obtained in England, but at an amount very far exceeding the double premium; and though numerous vessels of war, of all rates and descriptions were floating at the docks, the Argus was allowed to maintain her cruise in this neighbourhood for two full months. The attention of the admiralty was at length, however, awakened; and, on the 12th of August, the sloop of war, the Pelican, Captain J. F. Maples, of twenty-one carriage guns, was ordered to cruise in search of the hostile stranger. On the 14th, at four A. M.



Cruise of the Argus.

by the light of a schooner then on fire, the two vessels were brought in sight of each other. The Argus immediately close hauled on the starboard tack, and made preparations to receive the enemy. Failing in every attempt to obtain the weather gage, Captain Allen, at half-past five, shortened sail, and waited for the Pelican to close. A few minutes afterwards, the Pelican displayed her colours; the Argus hoisted the American flag, wore round, and within grape distance, gave her a larboard broadside; which being returned, the action commenced within the range of musketry. At the first fire from the Pelican, Captain Allen fell. He was wounded severely in the leg, but remained on deck until several broadsides were exchanged; when, being quite exhausted by the excessive loss of blood, he yielded the command of the Argus to Lieutenant Watson, and was taken below. Meantime the Pelican shot away the main braces, the spring stay, gaff, and trysail-mast, of the Argus. At twelve minutes past six, her spritsail-yard, and most of the standing rigging on the larboard side of the foremast, were lost; and Lieutenant Watson received a wound in the head, which made it necessary that he also should be carried below. The command of the Argus now devolved on Lieutenant William H. Allen Jr., whose unremitted exertions frequently defeated the enemy's attempts to get into a raking position. At [illegible] minutes past six, the Pelican edged

off, with an intention of getting under the stern of the Argus, but Lieutenant Allen, by luffing close to, with his main topsail aback, and giving her a raking broadside, completely frustrated this attempt. But, in two minutes after, she shot away the preventer main braces and main topsail of the Argus, deprived her of the use of her after sail, and thus causing her to fall off before the wind, succeeded in passing her stern, and ranged up on her starboard side. At twenty-five minutes past six, the Argus having lost her wheel ropes and running rigging of every description, became entirely unmanageable; and the Pelican, not being materially damaged, had an opportunity of choosing her position. She continued her fire on the starboard quarter of the Argus, until half-past six, when Lieutenant Watson returned to the deck, and made preparations to board the enemy. The shattered condition of the brig rendered that effort impossible; and the Pelican took a position on her stern, and gave her a raking fire for eight minutes, when she passed up, and placing herself on the starboard bow, continued a raking fire there until forty-seven minutes past six. All this while the commander of the Argus was endeavouring, without effect, to bring her guns to bear; and, having nothing but musketry to oppose to the galling and effective fire of the enemy, he determined on surrendering the brig: a measure, which, in consequence of the loss of several officers and many of the men, of the shattered state of the hull and rigging, and of the impossibility, under these disadvantages, of getting otherwise out of the combat, he would have been warranted in adopting much sooner. At the moment her flag came down, the Pelican was pressing to board her; and, being close along side, immediately took possession. Her loss amounted to six killed, and seventeen wounded; five of the latter died soon after the engagement. The loss of the Pelican was three men killed, and five only wounded.

Captain Allen submitted to an amputation of his leg, but every means of restoration to his health proved ineffectual; and, on the 18th, three days after the action, he expired in Mill Prison hospital, whence he and Midshipmen Delphy, who had both his legs shot from his body, at the same instant, and Edwards were buried with the usual honours of war.

Several United States sloops of war were, about this period, upon the stocks; and, it being necessary that their building and equipment should be superintended by experienced naval officers, commanders were assigned to them, previously to their being launched into their destined element. To restore to the American naval list the name of a vessel which had been captured by a superior force, after the moment of victory over another vessel, one of these was ordered to be called the Wasp, and the command given to Lieutenant-Commandant Blakely, at that time of the gun-brig Enterprise.*

By this transfer the command of the latter vessel devolved on Lieutenant-Commandant Burrows, to whom instructions had been given for a cruise from Portsmouth. On the 1st of September he sailed from that place, steered to the eastward, and on the 3d discovered and chased a schooner into Portland, where he gained intelligence of several privateers being off Manhagan, and immediately stood for that place.

The British gun-brig the Boxer, of fourteen guns and nearly one hundred men, had been fitted up at St. Johns, (New Brunswick,) for the purpose of a combat with the Enterprise, mounting the same number of guns, and very nearly the same number of men. To the crew of the Boxer, however, a detachment was added from the Rattler, upon her arrival on the United States coast. On the morning of the 5th, the Enterprise, in the bay near Penguin Point, discovered the Boxer getting under way, and gave chase to her. The Boxer fired several guns, stood for the Enterprise, and hoisted four ensigns. Captain Burrows having ascertained her character, stood out of the bay to obtain sea-room; and, followed by the Boxer, he hauled upon a wind until three P. M. At that hour he shortened sail, and in twenty minutes the action commenced within half pistol-shot. At the first broadside, Captain Blythe was killed by a cannon shot through his body; and in a moment afterwards Captain Burrows fell by

* The Enterprise is the same vessel which, in 1801, was a schooner, in the Mediterranean, commanded by Lieutenant Sterrett. Under that officer she engaged and captured in August of that year, during the Tripolitan war, the ship of Tripoli, of fourteen guns and eighty-five men. In this engagement, she lost [illegible] men; while her antagonist had fifty of her crew killed and wounded.

a musket ball. The command of the two vessels during the whole engagement was therefore maintained by the lieutenants. Captain Burrows refused to quit the deck, and at four P. M. received the sword of Captain Blythe, from the hands of Lieutenant M'Call; expressed his satisfaction at the manner of his death, and expired about eight hours afterwards. The colours of the Boxer had been nailed to the mast, and her first officer was therefore obliged to hail Lieutenant M'Call, to inform him of her surrender before it was known that she was vanquished. She was immediately taken possession of and carried into Port land, with her masts, sails, and spars cut to pieces; and with twenty eighteen-pound shot in her hull. The number of her killed and wounded could not be ascertained, no papers being on board by which the strength of her crew could be known. Her officers admitted the loss of twenty-five killed, and fourteen wounded. The rigging of the Enterprise was much cut with grape shot, but her hull was not materially damaged. Her loss was one killed and thirteen wounded; among the latter, the captain and carpenter's mate, mortally. Lieutenant Tillinghast and Midshipman Waters, the latter of whom was severely wounded, behaved with coolness and determination; and Lieutenant M'Call who succeeded his gallant captain, sustained the reputation of the navy by his conduct throughout the action.

On their arrival at Portland, the bodies of the deceased commanders were deposited with the usual military ceremonies; and the prisoners were soon after removed to the interior. Both vessels were repaired with the utmost despatch; and the Boxer being considered the superior vessel, was ordered by the President of the United States to be delivered up for the benefit of the captors, and bought from them into the service.

By the fall of these young officers, Captains Allen and Burrows, the naval service experienced a heavy and almost irretrievable loss. Captain Allen had distinguished himself in a gallant manner, in the action with the Macedonian, at which time he was first officer to Commodore Decatur; and, not long after, received the approbation of his government by a promotion to the rank of a master-commandant, and to the command of the Argus. He sustained the reputation of a brave and courteous man, an



Captain Allen.

accomplished seaman, and a friend of unswerving integrity. Captain Burrows, whose intrepidity and fortitude instigated him to remain on the deck of his vessel, in the agonies of death, until he knew of the surrender of the enemy, possessed these inestimable qualities in no less a degree. The loss of such men was a fruitful source of sorrow to those who had been their companions in arms, and to those who looked up to them for examples of usefulness and heroism.

Between this period and the commencement of the year 1814, the cruises of the ships of war of the United States were not attended by any of those brilliant achievements by which they had previously, and have since that time, been marked. In the month of February of that year, the frigate President returned from a cruise of about seventy days. At the entrance to Sandy Hook, after having passed the lighthouse, Commodore Rodgers found himself in the neighbourhood of three large men-of-war, the nearest being the Plantagenet, seventy-four, Captain Lloyd

Being well assured of an attack from one or all of the enemy's vessels, he cleared ship for action; and, though his capture was inevitable, he determined not to lose the President, until he could no longer fight her. In consequence of the wind and tide being both unfavourable, he was compelled to remain in his situation seven hours, before either of them enabled him to cross the bar; and, in all that time, to his great astonishment, and to the surprise and mortification of the prisoners on board, no disposition was manifested to attack the President, though her character was known, and she fired a gun to windward, to signify her willingness to fight, since there was no apparent possibility of escaping. The tide having changed, Commodore Rodgers proceeded to New York; and Captain Lloyd, after returning to England, accounted for his conduct by alleging a mutiny in his ship, and had several of his sailors tried and executed upon that charge.

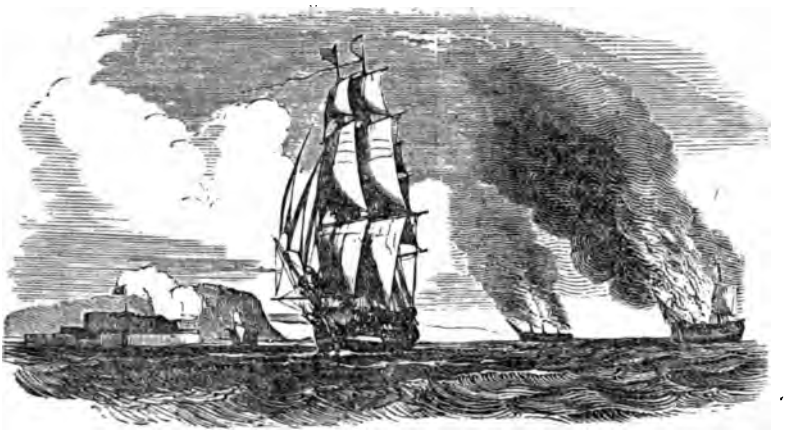
In the succeeding month of April, the Constitution frigate, commanded by Captain Charles Stewart, was also returning from a cruise commenced on the first of January. On her arrival on the coast, she was pursued by two British frigates and a brig, and chased into Marblehead. The excellent seamanship of her commander enabled her, with difficulty, to escape; and she reached Salem without injury. During her cruise, she captured the British public schooner Pictou; and fell in with the frigate La Pique, Captain Maitland, who fled on the approach of the Constitution. No effort was left untried by Captain Stewart to overtake and bring her to action, but she escaped in the night, after a long chase; and Captain Maitland, on his arrival in England, was complimented by the admiralty, for his strict observance of his instructions, in flying from an American frigate.

Repeated opportunities were about this time given to the enemy's squadron off Sandy Hook, to engage the gun-boat flotilla. A schooner had been driven ashore; and numbers of barges, well manned and armed, were despatched to take possession of her; but Commodore Lewis ordered a detachment of his sailors to land and protect her. With a small field-piece, and their small arms, they beat off the enemy, launched the

schooner, and carried her to her destined port, New York. A month afterwards, the Belvidere chased the brig Regent, laden with an immensely valuable cargo, close into the hook; when the commodore, whose station was constantly at that point, immediately gave signal for a detachment of his flotilla to follow him; and placing himself, with eleven sail, between the frigate and the chase, prevented her capture; and fired upwards of fifty shot at the frigate, which stood off, without returning the fire.

In a preceding chapter of this work, an account is given of a plan of a cruise in the South Seas, by a squadron composed of the Constitution, the Essex, and the Hornet, under Commodore Bainbridge. This cruise was broken up by the engagements of the Constitution and the Hornet; and as neither of those vessels was found by the Essex, at either of the appointed rendezvous, Captain Porter obtained such additional provisions as were necessary for a long cruise. He had received intelligence of the victory over the Java, and had been informed that the Montague had captured the Hornet. He therefore determined on prosecuting the original cruise with the Essex alone.

Previously to his departure from the rendezvous on the coast of Brazil, he captured the British packet Nocton, took out of her eleven thousand pounds sterling in specie, and ordered her with Lieutenant Finch to the United States. He then shaped his course for the Pacific, arrived at Valparaiso on the 14th of March, 1813, provisioned himself there, and running down the coast of Chili and Peru, fell in with a Peruvian corsair, on board of which were twenty-four Americans, detained as prisoners. Captain Porter immediately threw the guns of the corsair overboard, deprived her of all her warlike implements, released the Americans, and recaptured, near Lima, one of the vessels in which they had been taken. From Lima he proceeded to the Gallipagos islands, where he cruised from April until October; and in that time captured twelve armed British whale ships. The Montezuma, of two guns and twenty-one men; the Policy of ten guns and twenty-six men; the Georgiana, of six guns and twenty-five men; the Greenwich, of ten guns and twenty-five men; the Atlantic, of eight guns and twenty-four men; the Rose, of eight guns and twenty-one men; the Hector, of eleven guns and twenty-



Captain Porter's cruise in the Pacific.

five men; the Catherine, of eight guns and twenty-nine men; the Seringapatam, of fourteen guns and thirty-one men; the Charlton, of ten guns and twenty-one men; the New Zealander, of eight guns and twenty-three men; and the Sir Andrew Hammond, of twelve guns and thirty-one men; making in all one hundred and seven guns and three hundred and two men, and the total amount of tonnage, three thousand four hundred and fifty-six. Many of these vessels were pierced for eighteen, twenty, and twenty-six guns, and Captain Porter equipped several of them, and commissioned them as United States cruisers and store ships. The Atlantic he called the Essex Junior, equipped her with twenty guns, and assigned his first officer, Lieutenant Downes, as her commander. This officer conveyed such of the prizes as were to be laid up to Valparaiso. Here he learned that a British squadron, consisting of one frigate, two sloops of war, and a store ship of twenty guns had sailed for the Pacific, in quest of the Essex, and he immediately returned to Captain Porter with this intelligence.

The Essex had now been one year at sea, and, as she required many repairs, Captain Porter proceeded to the island of Nooaheevah, or Madison's island, lying in the Washington groupe; where he completely repaired the Essex; and, having secured three of his prizes under the guns of a battery which he had previously erected, and manned with twenty-one marines, under Lieutenant Gamble of that corps, sailed for the coast of Chili

on the 12th of December, and arrived there on the 12th of January, 1814. He then looked into Conception and Valparaiso, where he learned that the squadron of which he had been informed by Lieutenant Downes, was conjectured to have been lost in doubling Cape Horn. He nevertheless continued in the neighbourhood of Valparaiso, and was anchored in that port with the Essex Junior, when Commodore Hillyar, of the frigate Phœbe of thirty-six guns, mounting (thirty long eighteens, sixteen thirty-two-pound carronades, and one howitzer, on her decks, and six three-pounders in her tops) fifty-three guns, and having a complement of three hundred and twenty men; accompanied by the Cherub sloop of war, Captain Tucker, of (eighteen thirty-two-pound carronades, eight twenty-fours, and two long nines) twenty-eight guns, and one hundred and eighty men, arrived at Valparaiso. The Essex, which mounted (forty thirty-two pound carronades, and six long twelves) forty-six guns, and had her crew reduced by prizes to two hundred and fifty-five men; and the Essex Junior, which was not competent to resist a sloop of war, mounting twenty guns, and having on board sixty men, were thus blockaded by a force of eighty-one guns, and five hundred men.

After cruising at the entrance to the harbour for six weeks, the Phœbe hove too, fired a gun to windward, and hoisted a motto flag, with the words "God and Country; British Sailors' best rights, *Traitors* offend both;" in answer, as it was thought, to Captain Porter's motto of "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights." On the mizzen of the Essex, a flag was immediately hoisted, with the words, "God, our Country, and Liberty; *Tyrants* offend them;" and she got under way, and commenced a fire on the Phœbe. Captain Porter conceived the movements of the Phœbe to be intended as a challenge to engage him ship to ship; but, on discovering that the Phœbe ran down to her consort, he felt convinced that Commodore Hillyar would not engage the Essex alone. This conclusion was confirmed by the conduct of the two vessels, in keeping constantly within hail of each other.

Captain Porter having now learned that the Tagus and two other frigates had also sailed for the Pacific, in pursuit of him

not knowing what time they might gain the squadron already blockading him, and seeing no advantages which his country could obtain by his remaining longer in port, determined on putting to sea; and expected, by drawing off the Phœbe and Cherub in pursuit of him, to afford an opportunity to the Essex Junior, to which he had appointed a rendezvous of escaping.

On the 28th of March, the day after this determination was formed, the wind came on to blow fresh from the southward, and the Essex parted her larboard cable, and dragged her starboard anchor directly out to sea; the occurrences which followed are thus described in Captain Porter's official letter:*

"Not a moment was to be lost in getting sail on the ship. The enemy were close in with the point forming the west side of the bay; but on opening them I saw a prospect of passing to windward, when I took in my topgallant sails, which were set over single reefed topsails, and braced up for this purpose: but on rounding the point, a heavy squall struck the ship, and carried away her main topmast, precipitating the men who were aloft into the sea, who were drowned. Both ships now gave chase to me: and I endeavoured in my disabled state to regain the port; but finding I could not recover the common anchorage, I ran close into a small bay, about three-quarters of a mile to leeward of the battery, on the east side of the harbour, and let go my anchor, within pistol-shot of the shore, where I intended to repair my damages as soon as possible.

The enemy continued to approach, and showed an evident intention of attacking us, regardless of the neutrality of the place where I was anchored. The caution observed in their approach to the attack of the crippled Essex was truly ridicu-

* This letter, together with an account of the entire cruise of the Essex—of the possession of the island of Nooaheevah, by Captain Porter, in the name of the United States—of the intercourse established with the natives in behalf of his government—of the destruction of the enemy's commerce in those seas—of the immense expense which it cost the British government to pursue and capture the Essex—and of the transactions which took place between the different tribes of natives in the Washington groupe, and the fleet with which he appeared there, are to be found in a "Journal," published by Captain Porter, and accompanied by several engraved plans of those places, of the harbour of Valparaiso, and a view of the battle between the Phœbe and Cherub, and the Essex.

lous; as was their display of their motto flags, and the number of jacks at their mast heads. I, with as much expedition as circumstances would admit of, got my ship ready for action, and endeavoured to get a spring on my cable, but had not succeeded, when the enemy, at fifty-four minutes after three P. M. made his attack; the Phœbe placing herself under my stern, and the Cherub on my starboard bow: but the Cherub soon finding her situation a hot one, bore up and ran under my stern also, where both ships kept up a hot raking fire. I had got three long twelve-pounders out at the stern ports, which were worked with so much bravery and skill, that in half an hour we so disabled both, as to compel them to haul off to repair damages. In the course of this firing, I had by the great exertions of Mr. Edward Barnewall, the acting sailingmaster, assisted by Mr. Linscott, the boatswain, succeeded in getting springs on our cables three different times; but the fire of the enemy was so excessive that, before we could get our broadside to bear, they were shot away, and thus rendered useless to us. My ship had received many injuries, and several had been killed and wounded; but my brave officers and men, notwithstanding the unfavourable circumstances under which we were brought to action, and the powerful force opposed to us, were noways discouraged: all appeared determined to defend their ship to the last extremity, and to die in preference to a shameful surrender. Our gaff, with the ensign and motto flag at the mizzen, had been shot away; but FREE TRADE AND SAILORS' RIGHTS continued to fly at the fore. Our ensign was replaced by another: and to guard against a similar event, an ensign was made fast in the mizzen rigging, and several jacks were hoisted in different parts of the ship.

The enemy soon repaired his damages for a fresh attack; he now placed himself with both his ships, on my starboard quarter, out of the reach of my carronades, and where my stern guns could not be brought to bear; he there kept up a most galling fire, which it was out of my power to return, when I saw no prospect of injuring him, without getting under way and becoming the assailant. My topsail sheets and halyards were all shot away, as well as the jib and fore [illegible] yards. The only rope not cut was the flying [illegible] being



Commodore Porter.

the only sail I could set, I caused it to be hoisted, my cable to be cut, and ran down on both ships, with an intention of laying the Phœbe on board. The firing on both sides was now tremendous; I had let fall my fore-topsail and foresail, but the want of tacks and sheets had rendered them almost useless to us; yet we were enabled for a short time to close with the enemy; and although our decks were now strewed with dead, and our cockpit filled with wounded; although our ship had been several times on fire, and was rendered a perfect wreck, we were still encouraged to hope to save her, from the circumstance of the Cherub, from her crippled state, being compelled to haul off. She did not return to close action again, although she apparently had it in her power to do so, but kept up a distant firing with long guns. The Phœbe, from our disabled state was enabled, however, by edging off, to choose the distance which best suited her long guns, and kept up a tremendous fire on us, which mowed down my brave companions by the dozen. Many of my

guns had been rendered useless by the enemy's shot, and many of them had their whole crews destroyed. We manned them again, from those which were disabled, and one gun in particular was three times manned; fifteen were slain at it in the course of the action! But, strange as it may appear, the captain of it escaped with only a slight wound.

Finding that the enemy had it in his power to choose his distance, I now gave up all hopes of closing with him; and as the wind for the moment seemed to favour the design, I determined to endeavour to run her on shore, land my men, and destroy her. Every thing seemed to favour my wishes. We had approached the shore within musket-shot, and I had no doubt of succeeding, when in an instant the wind shifted from the land, (as is very common in this port in the latter part of the day,) and payed our head down on the Phœbe, where we were again exposed to a dreadful raking fire. My ship was now totally unmanageable; yet as her head was towards the enemy, and he to leeward of me, I still hoped to be able to board him. At this moment, Lieutenant-Commandant Downes came on board to receive my orders, under the impression that I should soon be a prisoner. He could be of no use to me in the then wretched state of the Essex, and finding (from the enemy's putting his helm up) that my last attempt at boarding would not succeed, I directed him, after he had been about ten minutes on board, to return to his own ship, to be prepared for defending and destroying her in case of attack. He took with him several of my wounded, leaving three of his boat's crew on board to make room for them.

The slaughter on board my ship had now become horrible; the enemy continuing to rake us, and we unable to bring a gun to bear. I therefore directed a hawser to be bent to the sheet anchor, and the anchor to be cut from the bows to bring her head round; this succeeded. We again got our broadside to bear, and as the enemy was much crippled, and unable to hold his own, I have no doubt he would soon have drifted out of gun-shot, before he discovered we had anchored, had not the hawser unfortunately parted.

My ship had taken fire several times during the action, but alarmingly so forward at this moment, the flames were

bursting up each hatchway, and no hopes were entertained of saving her; our distance from the shore did not exceed three-quarters of a mile, and I hoped many of my brave crew would be able to save themselves, should the ship blow up, as I was informed the fire was near the magazine, and the explosion of a large quantity of powder below, served to increase the horrors of our situation. Our boats were destroyed by the enemy's shot; I therefore directed those who could swim, to jump overboard, and endeavour to gain the shore. Some reached it; some were taken by the enemy, and some perished in the attempt; but most preferred sharing with me the fate of the ship. We, who remained, now turned our attention wholly to extinguish the flames; and, when we had succeeded, went again to our guns, where the firing was kept up for some minutes; but the crew had by this time become so weakened, that they all declared to me the impossibility of making further resistance, and entreated me to surrender my ship, to save the wounded, as all further attempt at opposition must prove ineffectual, almost every gun being disabled by the destruction of their crews."

Captain Porter then summoned his officers of division to a consultation, but, to his surprise, his summons was attended by one only remaining officer, Acting-Lieutenant McKnight, who made the same report concerning the condition of the guns. Lieutenant Wilmer had been knocked overboard by a splinter, and was drowned; Acting-Lieutenant Cowell had lost a leg, of which loss he afterwards died; Mr. Barnewall, the acting-master, had been twice severely wounded; Acting-Lieutenant Odenheimer had been knocked overboard about the same time, and did not regain the ship until she had surrendered; many of the wounded were killed, while in the hands of the surgeons; the cockpit, the steerage, the wardroom, and the birth-deck could contain no more; and such was the quantity of shot holes in the bottom of the Essex, that, unless she was very soon repaired, the carpenter reported, she must inevitably sink. The smoothness of the water, and the impossibility of reaching the enemy with the carronades, enabled him to fire with the most deliberate aim at the Essex; and, seeing no hope of saving his little frigate, Captain Porter, at twenty minutes past six, P. M.,

gave orders to strike the colours. At this moment, seventy-five men only, including officers, were all that remained of the crew, fit for duty, and several of these severely wounded. The Essex had now yielded to the superior force of the enemy, who, nevertheless, still fired, and continued to do so, ten minutes after her surrender. Many of the crew were, in this time, killed; an opposite gun had been fired, to show that she intended no further resistance, yet Commodore Hillyar still assailed her, and four men fell at the side of her commander. Conceiving from this conduct, that the enemy intended to show no quarter, Captain Porter determined to die with his flag flying, and was on the point of rehoisting it, when the firing ceased.

In addition to the officers already mentioned, Captain Porter speaks of Messrs. Johnson and Bostwick, acting officers, of Midshipmen Isaacs, Farragut, and Ogden; and of acting Midshipmen Terry, Lyman, and Duzenbury, having behaved with much bravery, enterprise, and skill.

Such was the condition of both the Phœbe and the Essex, that it was with extreme difficulty they could be kept afloat until they anchored in Valparaiso. All the masts and yards of the two British vessels were crippled, and their hulls cut up. The Phœbe had eighteen twelve-pound shot below her water line, though the Essex never reached the enemy, but with her six twelve-pounders. All the vessels were obliged to be repaired, to double Cape Horn; and at Rio de Janeiro, they put in, to fit up and repair, to enable them to reach England.

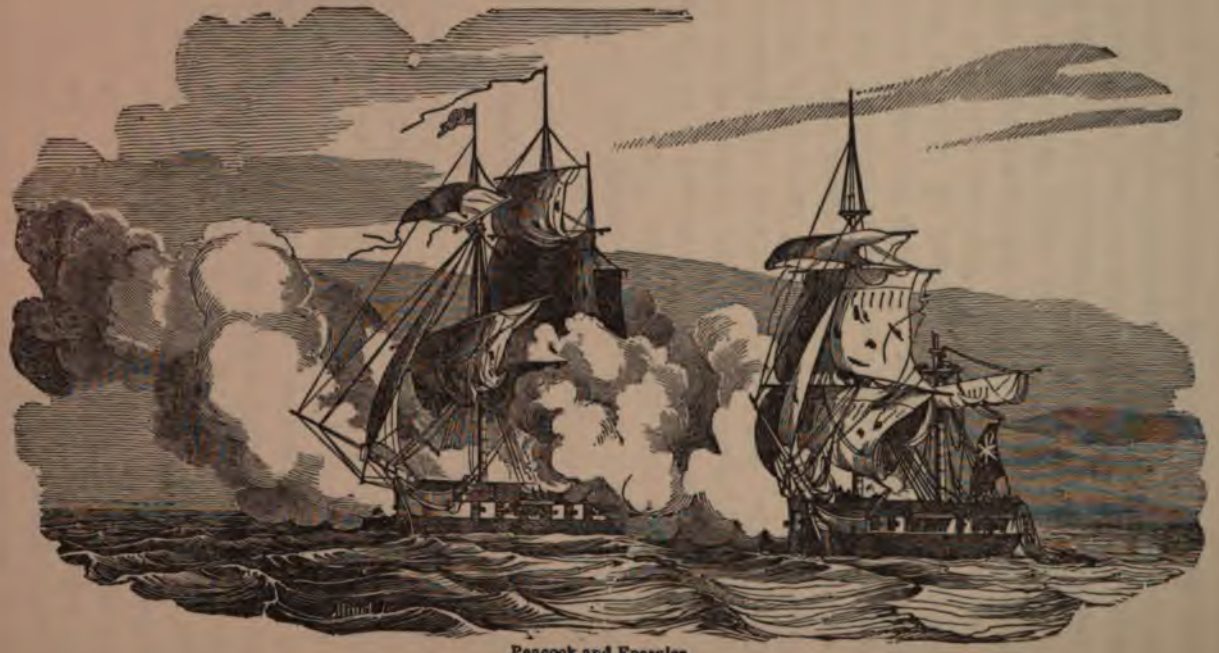
In an engagement of two hours and twenty minutes duration, between one ship of forty-six guns, six only of which could be used, and two vessels of eighty-one guns, the loss on the inferior side must necessarily have been excessively severe. On board the Essex, fifty-eight men were killed, thirty-nine severely, and twenty-six slightly wounded, and thirty-one missing; making a total loss of one hundred and fifty-four. On board the Phœbe and Cherub, the loss was not small. The first lieutenant of the former was killed, and Captain Tucker of the latter, severely wounded.

Commodore Hillyar made arrangements with Captain Porter, in consideration of his conduct to the crew of the Alert; by

which the Essex Junior was to be dismantled of her armament, and given up to the prisoners, who were to proceed in her to the United States. Accordingly, on the 27th of April, Captain Porter and his crew left Valparaiso in that ship, which, under Lieutenant Downes, was furnished with a passport, to secure her admission into any of the blockaded ports of the United States. On the 5th July, they fell in with the Saturn razee, Captain Mash, who suffered the Essex Junior to proceed, after an examination of her papers. Two hours after, being on the same tack with the Saturn, she was again brought to, the papers re-examined, and the hold overhauled, by the boat's crew and an officer.

Captain Porter was informed that Commodore Hillyar had no authority to make any arrangement, by which this ship should be given up, and that she must therefore be detained. Captain Porter immediately ordered out a boat, manned it with a sufficient crew, and pulled off from the Essex Junior. The Saturn did not discover him until he was out of gun-shot, when she chased the boat, without success; and Captain Porter landed at Long Island, upwards of thirty miles from the place at which he left the Essex, and immediately proceeded to New York, where he arrived, after an absence from his country of nineteen months, and to which port he was followed a few days after by the Essex Junior.

The United States sloop of war Peacock, Captain L. Warrington, of twenty guns, and one hundred and sixty men, was launched in the month of October, 1813, performed a cruise during that winter, escaped the pursuit of the enemy into the St. Mary's, put to sea again, and on the 29th of April discovered the British brig of war Epervier, Captain Wales, of eighteen guns and one hundred and twenty-eight men, having under convoy an English brig, and a Russian and a Spanish ship, all of whom made sail on the approach of the Peacock. An engagement followed soon after, between the two vessels of war, and at the first broadside from the Epervier, the foreyard of the Peacock was totally disabled by two round shot in the starboard quarter. By this circumstance she was deprived of the use of her fore and fore topsails, and Captain Warrington was compelled to keep his ship large throughout the action, which continued forty two



Peacock and Epervier.

minutes. In this time she received many shot through her sails and rigging, lost several topmast and top gallant back-stays, and had two men wounded. Her hull not at all injured, and none of the crew killed. The Epervier struck with five feet water in her hold, her main topmast over the side, her main boom shot away, her foremast cut nearly in two and tottering, her fore rigging and stays shot away, her bowsprit much injured, her hull pierced by forty-five shot, twenty of which were within a foot of her water line, and eleven of her crew killed, and her first lieutenant and fourteen men wounded. She was immediately taken possession of by Lieutenant Nicholson, first officer of the Peacock, who, with Lieutenant Voorhees of the same ship, had been distinguished in another naval combat. One hundred and eighteen thousand dollars in specie were found on board the Epervier, and transferred to the Peacock; and Captain Warrington, having received on board the officers of the enemy's vessel, pursued his course to one of the southern ports, in company with his prize, after repairing her with the utmost diligence.

At half-past five, P. M., on the following day, being almost off the centre of Amelia island, Captain Warrington discovered two large sail in chase, which he ascertained to be frigates. At the suggestion of Lieutenant Nicholson, he took all the prisoners out of the Epervier, and leaving a crew of only sixteen men on board, directed her to make the best of her way for St. Mary's, whilst we stood on a wind along the shore, to the southward. The frigates then separated, one being in chase of the Peacock, and the other of the Epervier. At nine that night the Peacock lost sight of the chaser, but continued all night to the southward. At daylight of the 1st of May she shortened sail, and stood to the northward, discovered the frigate again, and was a second time chased until two, P. M., when the frigate gave up. In the evening she resumed her cruise, fell in with the frigate a third time, on the morning of the 2d, and was again chased until she lost sight. On the morning of the 4th, she made Tybee lighthouse, at the entrance to Savannah, and arrived at that port in the course of the day. Here Captain Warrington found his prize, the Epervier, which had escaped with great difficulty, after beating off a launch well manned and armed, which had



Commodore Warrington.

been despatched from the frigate to overtake her. Lieutenant Nicholson, by his judgment and decision, which had never been known to desert him in times of peril and difficulty, prevented her recapture. The Epervier was repaired, refitted, bought into the service at Savannah, and the command given to Captain Downes, of the Essex Junior.

The conduct of Lieutenant Henley, of Midshipmen Greeves and Rodgers, of Mr. Townsend, captain's clerk, and Mr. Myers, master's mate, is represented by Captain Warrington to have been cool, determined, and active. The sailingmaster, Percival, the same who captured the tender Eagle, off Sandy Hook, handled the ship in a very superior style, and placed her in such situations as were most advantageous, with much ease and professional skill.

The new sloop of war the Wasp, Captain Blakely, mounting twenty guns, having been completely equipped for a long cruise, sailed from Portsmouth on the 1st of May, 1814, between which time and the 6th of the following July, she captured seven

merchantmen, and a brig of war, the Reindeer, Captain Manners, of eighteen guns, and one shifting gun, and one hundred and eighteen men. This capture was made after an action of nineteen minutes, in latitude 48° 36′ N. and longitude 11° 45′ W On that day, at fifteen minutes after four A. M., the Wasp being in pursuit of two sail before the lee beam, discovered the Reindeer on the weather beam, and immediately altered her course, and hauled by in chase of her. The pursuit continued until half-past meridian, when the Reindeer, having previously hoisted an English ensign and pendant, showed a blue and white flag at the fore, and fired a gun.

At fifteen minutes past one, Captain Blakely called all hands to quarters, and prepared for action. At twenty-two minutes past one, he tacked ship, and stood for the Reindeer, with an expectation of being able to weather her. At fifty minutes past one, the Reindeer tacked and stood from the Wasp. Fifty-six minutes past one, the Wasp hoisted her colours, and fired a gun to windward, which was answered. The chase was kept up until thirty-two minutes past two, when the Reindeer tacked for the Wasp, and the latter took in her stay sails, and furled the royals. Captain Blakely having now discovered that the Reindeer would weather him, immediately tacked ship, and at fifteen minutes past three, the Reindeer being on his weather quarter, at sixty yards distance, fired her shifting gun, a twelve-pound carronade, loaded with round and grape shot.

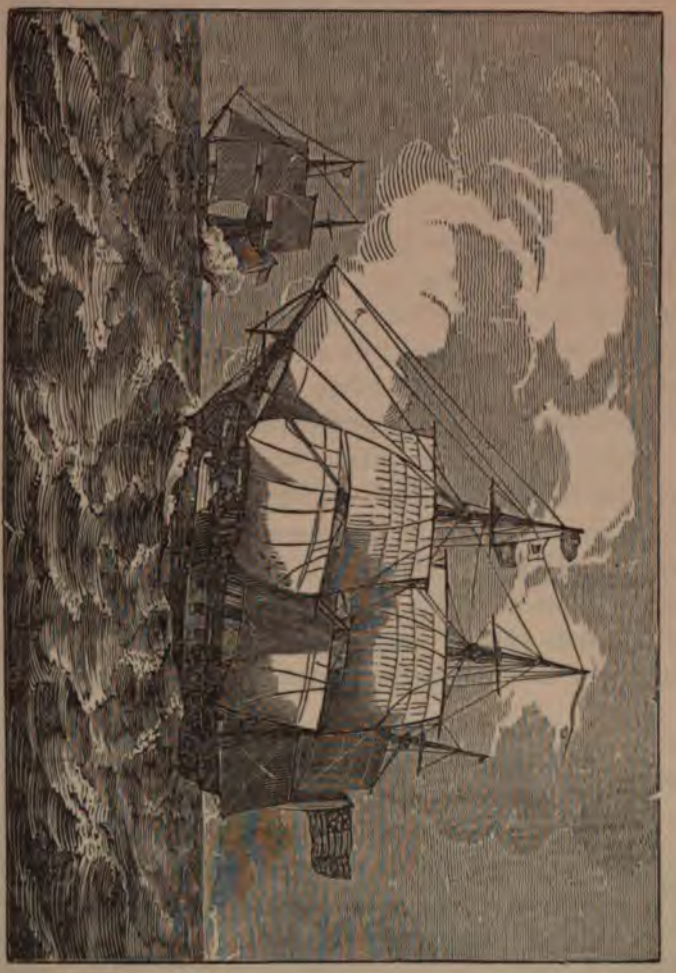
At seventeen minutes past three, the same gun was fired again; at nineteen minutes past three it was fired a third time; at twenty-one minutes past three a fourth time; and at twenty-four minutes past three a fifth time. The Reindeer not getting sufficiently on the beam of the Wasp, the latter was compelled to receive these repeated discharges without being able to bring a gun to bear. Her helm was therefore put a-lee, and at twenty-six minutes after three Captain Blakely commenced the action with his after carronade, on the starboard side, and fired in succession. The mainsail was then hauled up, and at forty minutes after three, the Reindeer's larboard bow being in contact with the larboard quarter of the Wasp, Captain Manners directed his crew to board her. The attempt was gallantly repulsed by the

crew of the Wasp, who several times beat off the enemy; and at forty-four minutes past three were ordered to board in turn Throwing themselves with great promptitude upon the deck of the Reindeer, they succeeded in the execution of their orders, and her flag came down at forty-five minutes after three. In a line with her ports she was cut almost to pieces; her upper works, boats, and spare spars entirely destroyed, and on the following day her foremost went by the board. Twenty-five of her crew were killed, and forty-two wounded, making a loss of sixty-seven men.

On board the Wasp the injury sustained was not so material Her rigging was destroyed however in several places, her foremast was pierced through by a twenty-four pound ball, and her hull struck by six round shot and many grape, though not with sufficient force to penetrate far. Her loss amounted to five killed, and twenty-one wounded, principally in boarding. Among the latter Midshipmen Langdon and Toscan, both of whom expired some days after. Having received the prisoners and their baggage on board the Wasp, Captain Blakely blew up the Reindeer on the evening of the 29th, and sailed for L'Orient to provide for the disabled part of each crew, whose wounds had become offensive in consequence of the intense heat of the weather. He arrived at that port on the 8th of July, and found that their damage could be repaired by the carpenters of the ship in a few days.

In this action Lieutenants Bury and Reily, who had been in the engagements with the Guerriere and Java, and of Lieutenant Tillinghast, (2d) who was instrumental to the capture of the Boxer, maintained the high credit which they acquired on those previous occasions. And Captain Blakely, whose reputation as a skilful seaman and an expert navigator is not surpassed by any naval officer, had his crew so well drilled upon the principles of marine discipline, that they never despaired of vanquishing an equal force of their enemy.

In the port of L'Orient, the Wasp was detained by head winds until the 27th of August, having been anchored there fifty-two
[illegible]s. During this time every attention was given to her officers
[illegible]w by the inhabitants, and their situation in a foreign port



Wasp and Avon.

rendered particularly agreeable by the assiduities of the American minister.

After leaving that place and capturing two valuable British merchantmen, Captain Blakely fell in with a convoy of ten sail, on the 1st of September, under the protection of the Armada, seventy-four, and a bomb ship. He stood for them, and succeeded in cutting out of the squadron a brig laden with brass and iron cannon, and military stores from Gibraltar; and after taking out the prisoners and setting her on fire, he endeavoured to cut out another vessel, but was driven off by the seventy-four.

In the evening at half past six, he discovered two vessels on his starboard, and two on the larboard bow, and hauled for that which was farthest to windward. At seven she was made out to be a brig of war, making signals with flags which could not be distinguished, owing to the darkness of the night; and at twenty-nine minutes past nine, she was under the lee-bow of the Wasp. Captain Blakely ordered the twelve-pound carronade to be fired into her, and received a return from the stranger. The Wasp then ran under the lee-bow of the enemy to prevent her escape, and immediately commenced an action, which continued until ten o'clock, when Captain Blakely, supposing his antagonist to be silenced, ceased firing, and hailed to know if she had surrendered. No answer being given to this demand, he recommenced firing, and the enemy returned him broadside for broadside.

At twelve minutes past ten, the enemy having made no return to the two last broadsides, was again hailed to know if he had surrendered. Captain Blakely was informed that the vessel being in a sinking condition, her commander had struck his colours. The Wasp's boats were immediately lowered, when a second brig of war was discovered a little distance astern, standing for her. The crew were instantly sent to their quarters, and preparations made for another engagement. The Wasp was lying to for the approach of the second stranger, when at thirty-six minutes past ten, two other brigs were discovered standing also for her.

Under these circumstances, Captain Blakely was prevented from taking possession of his prize, and keeping off the wind,



Captain Blakey

with an expectation of drawing the brig first discovered after him. he ordered new braces to be rove, to replace those which had been shot away. His expectations were not however, answered. the brig of war continuing in pursuit only until she was near enough under his stern to give him a broadside, and return to her companions. This she did, and cut the rigging and sails, and shot away a lower main cross tree of the Wasp.

The name and force of the prize has since been ascertained. She was the brig of war Avon, Captain Arbuthnot, of the same number of guns as the Reindeer, and sunk immediately after the Castillon the vessel which chased the Wasp had taken out her last man. According to the enemy's account her captain was wounded in both legs, the first lieutenant and eight men killed, and the second lieutenant, one midshipman, and thirty-one men wounded.

The Wasp received in her hull four thirty-two-pound shot, and in her mainmast a number of grape shot. Her sails and rigging ich damaged, but her loss in men amounted to two killed

and one only wounded. She repaired her damages on the succeeding day, and continued to cruise, in conformity with her instructions from the navy department. On the 21st of September, she captured off the Madeiras, her thirteenth prize, the British brig Atalanta, of eight guns, and the only one which she sent into port. This vessel arrived at Savannah in the beginning of November, under the command of Mr. Geisinger, one of the officers of the Wasp, with despatches from Captain Blakely.

The Atalanta left the Wasp, at sea, on the 23d of September, without knowing the destination to which her further cruise would convey her; and, since that time, no official accounts have been received from her. Her cruise was theretofore most brilliant and unparalleled, her sailors all young, athletic, brave, and enthusiastic, and her officers among the most skilful in the service. She was never heard from after being hailed by the Atalanta, and her loss was deeply deplored by the whole republic.





CHAPTER XVII.

Commencement of the Campaign of 1814.



IN the winter of 1813, we left the northern army under General Wilkinson, in quarters, the right division being at Champlain, and the left and largest at French Mills. Between that time and the spring of 1814, several plans of attack upon the posts of St. Philip, L'Acadie and St. Johns, by the route of Hammerford, La Tortue, and St. Piere, and for a simultaneous movement against Cornwall, with a view to cut off the communication between the Upper and Lower Provinces, were submitted to the war department by the commander-in-chief. Before the propositions were received at the department, orders had been forwarded to Salmon river, directing the general to withdraw his forces from French Mills; to forward two thousand men, with a proportion of field and battering cannon, under General Brown, to Sackett's Harbour; and to fall back with the residue of the troops, stores, and baggage to Plattsburg.

In conformity to these orders, the flotilla in which the army had descended the St. Lawrence was destroyed on the night of the 12th of February; the barracks were fired on the succeeding day, and the troops abandoned their quarters and marched toward the several places of their destination.

General Wilkinson had scarcely reached Plattsburg before he was apprized of a movement of the enemy, with a view to the capture of a few sick men whose extreme illness rendered it indispensable they should be left in the hospital at Malone, a short distance from the Mills. He therefore determined on their expulsion from the territory, in time to prevent the achievement of their object, and having made proper arrangements for the convenience and comfort of the sick at their new quarters, he marched with all possible expedition to meet and repulse the enemy.

Colonel Scott of the 103d British regiment, commanded the expedition against French Mills and Malone, composed of two thousand regulars, Glengarians, and militia, and accompanied by nearly three hundred guides and followers. He crossed over to the Mills on the 21st, burned the arsenal at Malone, pillaged the property of individuals, and carried off several barrels of public provisions. But hearing of the approach of the American troops, he retreated in great confusion, though not without destroying the bridges in his rear. The whole party suffered severely by a tremendous storm of snow and hail, which prevailed at the close of the day, and lost upwards of two hundred deserters, who surrendered themselves to the American army.

During the following month, (March,) the troops were not otherwise engaged than in breaking up a system of smuggling, which had been carried on for several previous months, and which at this period was extended to an alarming and dangerous degree.

Towards the close of March, General Wilkinson determined on establishing a battery at Rouse's Point, where he had previously discovered a position well adapted for a work to keep in check the contemplated movements of the British fleet destined to operate upon the Lake Champlain, and which had been laid up during the winter at St. Johns, about twenty-one miles below the mouth of the La Colle, and twenty-six from Rouse's Point. After this position had been reconnoitered by his engineer, Major Totten, he made an attempt to carry this object into execution, but the sudden and unseasonable breaking up of the ice defeated the plan; and being informed that the enemy had taken

the alarm, and was condensing a force of two thousand five hundred men at La Colle Mill, four miles from Rouse's Point, he determined on the opinion of his leading officers, and a report that the walls could be effectually battered with a six-pounder to attack it. On the 30th he accordingly entered Canada, and was met by a party of the enemy at Odelltown, whom he forced back more than three miles, on the route to Montreal, in the course of which much skirmishing took place. He then resumed his march to La Colle Mill, a large and lofty fortified stone house, measuring sixty feet by forty, and at that time in command of Major Hancock, and a strong corps of British regulars.

To drive the enemy from this post, and to effect its destruction, General Wilkinson ordered forward an eighteen-pounder, and disposed his troops so as to intercept him in an attempt to retreat. The only road of approach being through a deep forest, almost inundated, and covered with insurmountable obstructions to the passage of a heavy piece of cannon, the eighteen-pounder could not be brought up, and the general determined upon attempting a breach with a twelve, and a five and a half inch howitzer. He took post with those pieces, under command of Captain McPherson and his seconds, Lieutenants Larrabee and Sheldon, at a distance of two hundred and fifty yards* from the fortified house, and covered them with the second brigade composed of the 33d, 34th, 4th, and 10th regiments, and part of Colonel Clark's command, under Brigadier-General Smith, on the right; and the 3d brigade, composed of the 14th and 20th, under Brigadier-General Bissel, on the left. Colonel Miller was detached with the 6th, and 12th, and part of the 13th, to cross the La Colle, and form a line across the several roads leading from the stone house on the opposite side of the river, to cut off the retreat of the British regulars. Brigadier-General Macomb, with a select corps of the first brigade, formed the reserve. All these regiments were mere skeletons consolidated. This disposition being completed, the battery was immediately opened upon the enemy, who promptly returned the fire, and

* It is said Major, now Colonel, Totten, since ascertained that the Americans were within one hundred and fifty yards of the house, and that a breach could not have been effected with an eighteen-pounder.

threw numbers of Congreve rockets upon the right wing of the American line. From these manifestations of deliberate and circumspect preparation, the commander of the American forces was induced to believe the report that the number of the enemy amounted to twenty-five hundred; his strength was inferior to that, however, though competent under the cover of strong walls, to repel an attack from a much larger number of assailants.

The stone house stood upon that side of the river on which General Wilkinson had drawn up his line; a block-house of wood stood on the other; and both were encompassed by an open piece of ground, on the edge of a wood bordering upon which the Americans had taken post; every officer, therefore, from the lowest subaltern up to the commander-in-chief was exposed to the enemy's fire. Here the general made proper arrangements to keep his corps in order, to receive a combined attack, and continued to cannonade the house, but without being able to effect a breach, although the guns were managed with uncommon skill, by officers accustomed to their use. Captain McPherson had been already wounded under the chin; this wound he immediately bound up, and continued to direct the fire from his piece until a second shot broke his thigh, and rendered him unfit for further duty. His next officer, Lieutenant Larrabee, was shot through the lungs, and Lieutenant Sheldon kept up the fire with great vivacity, until the close of the engagement. The conduct of these gentlemen was represented by their commander to be "so conspicuously gallant as to attract the admiration of their brothers in arms."

Relying on the firmness and intrepidity of his troops, and seeing that the Americans were resolved on the longer maintenance of the cannonade, the British commander, Major Hancock, determined on sending a strong party from the house, to storm the battery, and put the assailants to flight. He gave orders for a sudden and immediate sortie, and several desperate charges were attempted upon the cannon. These were successively repulsed by the covering troops, and the enemy's regulars obliged to retire to the fortified building with considerable loss. They then shut themselves up in the house, and, convinced of their ability to retain their position, put at defiance the utmost efforts

of the Americans; and General Wilkinson being now persuaded of the impracticability of making an impression with such light pieces upon a solid stone wall found upon experiment to be of unusual thickness, called in his detachments, withdrew his battery, and having previously removed his dead and wounded, fell back to Odelltown, at about six o'clock of the same day. Thence he moved to Champlain and Plattsburg, at which latter place he established his quarters. The American loss in this affair amounted to one hundred and forty in killed and wounded, among the latter Lieutenants Green and Parker, of the infantry. The enemy's loss was known to be considerable in the sortie, but the amount has never been accurately ascertained.

Immediately after the incursion to La Colle, the whole regular force of Lower Canada, and a battalion of Glengarians from Coteau de Lac, were concentrated at Isle aux Noix, and a large number of batteaux collected at St. Johns. The former awaiting the movement of the British fleet, whose boats were employed in the daily examination of the ice on the lake, on the breaking up of which such movement depended. This event took place in the beginning of the month of April, and early in May the British flotilla entered Lake Champlain.

PREVIOUSLY to their apppearance on the lake, General Wilkinson had been recalled from that district, by an order from the department of the 24th of March. But being apprized of the equipment of the enemy's flotilla, and of their intention to blockade the mouth of Otter creek leading to the town of Vergennes, where the American fleet lay waiting for their armament, he, notwithstanding this order, visited the capes at its entrance, conferred with Commodore McDonough at Vergennes, and made arrangements to erect a battery and fortify that point. This precaution proved to be of incalculable service, and amply provided against an attempt to obstruct the passage of the American squadron into the lake.

On the 13th of May, not long after the battery had been constructed on the cape, a bomb vessel and eight large row galleys were stationed, by the enemy, across the entrance of the creek, with a view to its blockade, and to cut off supplies for a new ship

just then completing, and intended to be added to the American squadron. Captain Thornton, of the light artillery, was despatched to defend the battery, and Commodore McDonough placed a number of sailors, under Lieutenant Cassin, of the navy, to co-operate with the artillery. A new large gun brig, and several other galleys, being at the same time, about two miles in the rear of the bomb vessels, suspicions were entertained of the enemy's intention to land a detachment of troops, either to capture the provisions in the neighbourhood, or to assail the battery from the rear. General Davis, of the Vermont militia, immediately called out a detachment of his brigade, and made dispositions to resist an invasion. At daybreak on the morning of the 14th, the bomb ship opened her battery upon the new works, and continued the attack upwards of two hours, without doing any other injury than the dismounting of one gun. Captain Thornton, with his artillerymen, and Lieutenant Cassin, with his sailors, returned the fire with constant animation, compelled the enemy to withdraw from his position, and captured two galleys which the British seamen were obliged to abandon. The bomb ship, and the remainder of the galleys, stood off to the other vessels, and the whole squadron proceeded down the lake, passed Burlington, and had some skirmishing with a small body of militia under General Wright, who manœuvered so well as to persuade the enemy that his force was much stronger. During the attack, Commodore McDonough attempted to bring the American vessels down the creek, but did not succeed in reaching the mouth, until the enemy had departed.

The enemy were not less active in their operations along the shores of the Lake Ontario; and the commanders of the rival armaments there, lost no time in preparing and equipping their vessels, to take the lake early in the spring. At the close of the preceding autumn, they had manœvered with uncommon skill, though not with equal success, the one to draw his enemy into an engagement, the other to avoid fighting, for the supremacy of the water, until his fleet should be augmented by an additional force. At Kingston, an immense vessel was building for that purpose; and, at Sackett's Harbour, a new ship was ordered of a sufficient size to maintain the existing equality. Whilst these

vessels were constructing, various plans were continually adopted to destroy them, and all the caution of one party became neces sary to guard against the vigilance of the other. On one occasion, the 25th of April, three of the enemy's boats succeeded in getting close in with the harbour, when Lieutenant Dudley, of the navy, being the officer of the guard, detected and fired upon them. Each boat was provided with two barrels of powder, attached to each other by means of ropes, and intended to be placed under the stocks of the vessels. Upon being fired at, they immediately threw the powder into the lake, to prevent an explosion of their own boats, and pulled off without returning a shot.



AILING in all his attempts to destroy the hull of the new ship, the British commander determined upon intercepting her rigging, naval stores, and guns. These had been deposited at Oswego, about sixty miles from the harbour, and thither Sir James Yeo and Lieutenant-General Drummond resolved to sail with the whole fleet, and a competent number of troops to land and storm the fort, and capture this valuable booty. Accordingly, on the 5th of May, Sir James appeared before the fort, with four large ships, three brigs, and a number of gunboats, barges, and transports. The transports principally contained the troops of Lieutenant-General Drummond. The successful issue of this expedition would have given to the British forces, for a time at least, a decided superiority on the lake, and without knowing that the stores had been previously removed from Oswego, they commenced an attack, which was kept up for nearly two days, the brilliant and unusual resistance to which did not, however, avail the American garrison. The fort mounted but five old guns, three of which were almost useless, and had a shore battery of five more of smaller weight. It had been garrisoned but a few days by Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell of the artillery, and two hundred and ninety men. The schooner Growler, having on board Captain Woolsey and Lieutenant Pearce of the navy, was at that time in Oswego creek, receiving the cannon which had not yet been removed. The enemy were no sooner discovered than the Growler was sunk to prevent the

capture of the cannon, and all the tents in store were immediately pitched on the village side of the creek, to persuade the enemy that the Americans were numerous. Under Lieutenant Pearce the few sailors of the Growler were added to the garrison; the shore battery was commanded by Captain Boyle, who was seconded by Lieutenant Legate.

At about one o'clock fifteen large boats, crowded with troops, moved at a given signal to the shore, preceded by several gun boats which were sent forward to cover the landing; whilst all the larger vessels opened a heavy fire upon the little fort. The contest was kept up with great vigour and equal vivacity; the fort itself returned a very animated fire; and Captain Boyle succeeded twice in repulsing the debarking boats, near the shore battery, and at length compelled them to retire to the shipping. The whole squadron then stood off, and anchored at a distance from the shore; one of their boats, being sixty feet in length, and carrying thirty-six oars and three sails, was so much shattered that her crew abandoned her, and she fell into the hands of the American artillery.

Though the British were thus compelled to retire from the assault of the fort, it was by no means to be supposed that they had relinquished their intention of storming and possessing it. The immense superiority of their force and means would not justify such a supposition, and Colonel Mitchell was therefore particularly vigilant. He stationed picket guards at the different points of debarkation, kept his men upon their arms during the night, and neglected no measure of precaution. Mortified at so successful a resistance, by a force known to be so much inferior, and protected by weak batteries, the enemy determined to effect a landing under cover, as well of their large vessels, as of their gun-boats, and at daybreak of the 6th they approached the shore again. They were early discovered coming up under easy sail, and soon after the principal ship, the Wolf, and the other frigates resumed their position before the fort and battery, whilst the brigs, schooners, and gun-boats, proceeded higher up to cover by their fire the landing of the troops. The Wolf, and the frigates, kept up the cannonade for three hours, whilst the land forces, to the number of seventeen hundred, composed of



Attack on Oswego.

one column of the De Watteville regiment, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Fischer, on the left; a second column of a battalion of marines, under Lieutenant-Colonel Malcom, supported by a detachment of two hundred seamen under Captain Mulcaster, the second officer of the fleet, on the right, succeeded under a tremendous fire from the brigs and schooners, in gaining the shore, where their advance was resisted by Lieutenant Pearce of the navy, and a small party of seamen. The landing being effected, Colonel Mitchell withdrew to the rear of the fort, united with the sailors, two companies of artillerymen, under Captains Romayne and Melvin, and assailed the invading columns whilst the companies of Captains McIntire and Pierce of the heavy artillery engaged the enemy's flanks. Thus formed, he sustained a vigorous and desperate conflict upwards of thirty minutes, in which great slaughter was made among the enemy, and a severe loss experienced by the troops of the garrison. Against a force, however, which amounted to ten times their own number, it was found useless for the Americans longer to contend, and Colonel Mitchell accordingly fell back about four hundred yards from the enemy, where he formed his troops, and took up his march for the falls, thirteen miles in the rear of the fort, upon Oswego river, to which place the stores had been previously removed. He retired in such good order as to be able to destroy the

bridges in his rear, notwithstanding he was pressed by a numerous foe.

The enemy then took possession of the fort and barracks, but for the little booty which he obtained, consisting of a few barrels of provisions and whisky, he paid much more than an equivalent. His loss in killed amounted to seventy, in wounded, drowned, and missing, one hundred and sixty-five, in all two hundred and thirty-five. Among these were Captain Haltaway killed, and Captains Mulcaster, Popham, and Ledergrew, and two lieutenants and one master wounded. In the noble and obstinate resistance which they made, the Americans lost Lieutenant Blaney, an officer of high promise, and five men killed, thirty-eight wounded, and twenty-five missing, in all sixty-nine men.

On the morning of the 7th, the enemy, finding that the object of the expedition, though prosecuted with a force, including the ships' crews, of three thousand men, had not been achieved, evacuated the place after firing the barracks, spiking some, and carrying off others of the guns.

On the 9th, they returned to Oswego, and sent a flag into the village, informing the inhabitants of their intention of landing a large force, to proceed to the falls for the execution of their original plan; but on being assured by the people that the stores had been removed from that place, and that the communication was cut off by the destruction of the bridges, they quitted Oswego and stood for Kingston.

On the evening of the 12th, four ships, two brigs, and five gun-boats, of this squadron, were discovered shaping their course for Charlotte, a town near the mouth of the Gennessee river. At this town, a corps of volunteers, amounting to one hundred and sixty men, and having one field-piece, had been stationed for its defense; and the commanding officer, on the appearance of the fleet, immediately despatched expresses to General Peter B. Porter, who arrived there early on the morning of the 13th. In answer to a flag which had been sent ashore with a demand for the surrender of the place, General Porter returned a positive refusal. Two gun-boats, carrying between two and three hundred men, then entered the river, and opened a fire upon the town and battery, which they continued, with little effect, for an hour and

a half. The commodore sent in a second flag, with a repetition of his demand, accompanied by a threat to land twelve hundred regulars to destroy the town. By this time the women and children were all removed, about three hundred and fifty militia collected, and dispositions made to cut off the gun-boats, if they should approach further up the river. Being well assured of the determination of his men to resist the landing of the enemy, General Porter repeated his reply to the commodore's demand. At eight o'clock on the morning of the 15th, the gun-boats retired to their shipping, after having thrown a great quantity of rockets, shells, and round shot, without doing any material injury, and the fleet took its departure from the vicinity of Charlotte.

In the evening of the same day, this force proceeded to Poultneyville, a village on the border of the lake, and demanded the peaceable surrender of the public stores. The inhabitants were incompetent to repel the invaders, and the British commodore landed a party of sailors and marines, who captured a quantity of damaged flour, and were committing depredations upon individual property, when the arrival of Brigadier-General John Swift, of the New York militia, with one hundred and thirty volunteers, put them to a precipitate flight. Their boats hastily pulled off to the fleet, when a vigorous cannonade commenced, and several old houses were pierced through by the eighteen and twenty-four-pound shot. The enemy did not attempt to reland, but soon weighed anchor, and being joined by other vessels of the squadron, steered for Sackett's Harbour.

Nine miles distant from the harbour the fleet cast anchor, in different positions, on the 19th, to enable them to cut off all communication between it and other places on the lake. The new ship, the Superior, a frigate of uncommon beauty and dimensions, had been launched there on the 1st of the month. Her equipments, for the capture of which the enemy had so vigorously assaulted Fort Oswego, had mostly arrived by land conveyances, and Sir James Yeo being ignorant of this circumstance, and supposing the Americans dependent entirely on their free and ready access to the lake, for the possession of these supplies, commenced the blockade of the harbour, with the sole view of intercepting them. Upon learning, as he afterwards did, that the new ship was re

ceiving her armament, and equipping with great expedition, he broke up the blockade, and proceeded with his fleet to Kingston.

Some cannon and ordnance stores, intended for the vessels of the American fleet, had, in the mean time, arrived at Oswego, from the interior. Another new vessel, intended to be called the Mohawk, was then on the stocks, and to prepare her for the lake in the early part of June, these stores, as well as those which had been removed to Oswego falls, were indispensably necessary. To transport them by land would be attended with difficulties and delays, which recent experience had taught the American commanders to avoid; and Commodore Chauncey, finding now an unobstructed passage to the lake, directed Captain Woolsey to convey them, in a flotilla of barges, in which he could ascend the small creeks, if pursued by the enemy, to their point of destination To give security to the passage of the barges, Brigadier-General Gaines, who commanded the land forces of the harbour, despatched Major Appling, of the rifle regiment, with one hundred and twenty officers and men, to co-operate with Captain Woolsey, in escorting the flotilla. The barges, nineteen in number, were then at the falls of Oswego, and previously to their movement to the lake, Captain Woolsey had caused a report to be circulated, that the naval stores were to be forwarded to the Oneida lake. The watchful enemy had several gun-boats at that time hovering about the numerous creeks, which discharge themselves into the Lake Ontario, and examining every cove, by the aid of which, small barges might elude their vigilance. On the 28th of May, Captain Woolsey, having previously reconnoitered the mouth of the Oswego creek, and finding a clear coast, brought his flotilla over the rapids, and reached the village of Oswego at sunset. Availing himself of the darkness of the night, he put into the lake, with Major Appling and his men distributed in the several batteaux. A small party of Oneida Indians were despatched to Big Salmon river, to meet the flotilla there, and to proceed along the shore to Sandy creek, in which Captain Woolsey's orders obliged him to make a harbour.

At the dawn of the 29th, after having rowed twelve hours, in extreme darkness, and under a heavy fall of rain, the barges arrived at Big Salmon, and were met by the Indians, commanded

by Lieutenant Hill of the rifle corps. The flotilla then proceeded on its passage, and arrived, in the course of the day, at a point two miles up Sandy creek. Thence a look-out boat, under Lieutenant Pearce, was despatched on the 30th, to reconnoiter between its mouth and Stony Point. This boat was discovered by three gun-boats, three cutters, and a gig, under Captain Popham, and chased into the creek. No doubt being entertained that the enemy would pursue Lieutenant Pearce up the creek, dispositions were immediately made by Major Appling and Captain Woolsey to draw him into an ambuscade. He very soon appeared, and at eight o'clock A. M. commenced a cannonade at long shot. At ten he landed a party, and pushed his gun-boats and cutters up the creek, occasionally firing into the woods as he ascended. Major Appling, who had posted his men in a judicious manner along the bank, below the point at which the American barges were moored, then suddenly rose from his concealment, poured upon the enemy a rapid and destructive fire, and in ten minutes killed one midshipman and thirteen sailors and marines, wounded two lieutenants, and twenty-eight sailors and marines, and took prisoners the remainder of the party, consisting of two post captains, and four lieutenants of the navy, two lieutenants of marines, and one hundred and thirty-three men. The whole party amounted to one hundred and eighty-five. The gun-boats and cutters necessarily fell into the hands of the Americans, who had but one man slightly wounded.

A squadron of dragoons, under Captain Harris, and a company of light artillery, under Captain Melvin, with two field-pieces, arrived in the neighbourhood, at the commencement of the action, but did not participate in it. Major Appling was soon after brevetted a lieutenant-colonel, and his officers, Lieutenants McIntosh, Calhoun, Macfarland, Armstrong, and Smith, and Ensign Austin were publicly thanked by the commanding general officer at Sackett's Harbour. Captain Woolsey and his officers, Lieutenant Pearce, Sailingmaster Vaughan, and Midshipmen Mackey, Hart, and Caton, who had been ordered to Oswego to superintend the transportation of the cannon and stores, acquitted themselves in a masterly and courageous manner.

The cannon were soon after transported to the harbour, and



Burning of Dorset.

the new frigate Mohawk, was launched on the 11th of June, and very speedily armed and equipped to join the squadron, which then consisted of nine vessels, carrying in all about two hundred and fifty-one guns.

The result of this affair was sensibly felt throughout the British fleet; it deprived them of a number of experienced seamen, and several valuable and intrepid officers, and they were compelled to remain in Kingston harbour, until their places were supplied, and the squadron enlarged by an immense new ship, then building there, and intended to carry one hundred and twelve guns. Commodore Chauncey sailed round the lake in the course of the month, and frequently stationed himself before Kingston, to draw out the enemy's squadron.

Until their new ship was completed, they determined, however, to remain in port, and in that interval no hostile event took place upon Lake Ontario. Nor, indeed, was any warlike attitude assumed in its neighbouring Lake Erie, or the Lake Champlain, before the commencement of the summer. From the borders of the latter, Lieutenant-Colonel Forsythe, of the rifle corps, on the 28th of June, made an incursion into Canada, as far as Odelltown, where an affair took place with a detachment of the enemy, from the post of La Colle. The colonel made an attack, retreated, and attempted to draw the enemy into an ambuscade, but in his zeal, discovered himself and his party too soon, and an engagement took place before the British were ensnared. Seventeen of their number were killed; among them the celebrated partisan commander, Captain Mayhue, who was shot by Lieutanant Riley. Colonel Forsythe, who had heretofore been a terror to the enemy, was wounded in the neck, of which wound he died a few days after, and was buried with military honours at Champlain. The command of this corps was then transferred to Lieutenant-Colonel Appling.

From Lake Erie, Colonel Campbell, of the 19th regiment, crossed over the lake with five hundred men, to Long Point, where he landed, and proceeding to the village of Dover, destroyed the flour mills, distilleries, and all the houses occupied by the soldiers, as well as many others belonging to the peaceable inhabitants of the village. A squadron of British dragoons, sta-

tioned at that place, fled at the approach of Colonel Campbell's detachment, and abandoned the women and children, who experienced humane treatment from the Americans. Colonel Campbell undertook this expedition without orders, and as his conduct was generally reprobated, a court of inquiry was instituted to examine into his proceedings, of which General Scott was president. This court declared that the destruction of the mills and distilleries was according to the usages of war, but that in burning the houses of the inhabitants, Colonel Campbell had greatly erred. This error they attributed to the recollection of the scenes of the Raisin and the Miami, in the western territories, to the army of which, Colonel Campbell was at that time attached, and of the recent devastation of the Niagara frontier.

During these events of the winter and spring of 1814, the British had collected, in the neighbourhood of the river Thames, and at the Delaware town, situated upon that river, a very respectable force of regulars, militia, and Indians; and several expeditions were planned and set on foot against them, by Colonel Anthony Butler, who commanded the American forces in the Michigan territory. In the month of February, Captain Lee, who had been formerly a cornet in the Michigan dragoons, was sent into the vicinity of the enemy, with about fourteen mounted men. Many miles in the rear of the British forces, he made prisoners of several officers, and among them the famous Colonel Baubee, who commanded a party of Indians, and assisted in the depredations committed on the New York frontier. Captain Lee contrived, by his judicious management, to bring them over to Detroit without detection.

Upon their arrival there, Colonel Butler projected an enterprise, under Captain A. H. Holmes, of the 24th regiment, to whom he assigned the command of one hundred and sixty rangers and mounted infantry, and despatched him, on the 21st of February, against several of the enemy's posts. On the 3d of March, at the distance of fifteen miles from Delaware, Captain Holmes received intelligence that the enemy, whose force consisted of a company of one hundred men, of the Royal Scotts, under Captain Johnson; forty-five of the 89th regiment,

under Captain Caldwell; fifty of McGregor's militia, and the same number of Indians, being in all two hundred and forty-six men, had left the village with an intention of descending the river. Captain Holmes's party had already suffered and been reduced by hunger and fatigue, and sixteen of his men, who were unable to march further, sent back to Detroit; with the remainder he did not deem it prudent to give battle to the enemy, without the advantage of the ground, and, therefore, fell back five miles, to a position on Twenty Mile creek, leaving Captain Gill with a rear guard of twenty rangers to follow.

This guard was overtaken by the enemy, and after exchanging a few shots, effected a retreat to the position which Captain Holmes then occupied. At Twenty Mile creek, there was a deep and wide ravine, bounded on each side by a lofty height. On the western height, Captain Holmes had established an encampment in the form of a hollow square, the detachment from Detroit being on the north front of the square, the rangers on the west, and the militia on the south, and all protected by logs hastily thrown together. The regulars of the 24th and 28th regiments were stationed on the brow of the height, uncovered. In this situation the Americans awaited the attack, and Captain Holmes, by the skilful and judicious manner in which he posted himself, compelled his superior enemy to commence it.

Early on the morning of the 4th, the British appearing in few numbers, on the eastern height, immediately opposite to the American camp, gave a loose fire and retired. Some time having elapsed without their reappearance, Captain Holmes despatched Lieutenant Knox, of the rangers, to reconnoiter them, who performed that duty with alacrity, and returned with an account that the enemy, whose number he judged to be not more than seventy, had retreated with such precipitation as to leave his baggage scattered on the road. This retreat was made for the purpose of drawing the Americans from the height, on which the British officer saw they were so advantageously posted. The attempt was attended by a partial success, for the American commander not being well assured of the strength of his adversary, descended from the camp, and followed him in his retreat. Captain Lee, who commanded the advance in this march, which

continued five miles, was fortunate enough to discover the enemy in full force, preparing for a resolute attack. The policy which had induced the British officer to draw the American from his strong ground, judging of it by its result, was founded in extreme weakness. Having succeeded in seducing him to a distance of five miles, he supposed that Captain Holmes, with an inferior detachment, almost worn out with the hardships of a fourteen days' march, and the severity of the weather, would pause and give battle to a body of fresh troops, superior in numbers and in discipline. He therefore never attempted to improve the advantage he had gained, by detaching a strong party to cross the ravine, above the road on which the Americans had marched, and to occupy the position which they just abandoned. By this act he would have cut off all communication in the rear, and compelled Captain Holmes to disperse his party in the wilderness, or to yield at discretion. In either of these cases the American detachment would have been destroyed.



APTAIN HOLMES fearing, however, that the enemy had attempted thus to cut him off, immediately retreated to the heights, re-established himself in his encampment, and a second time compelled the British regulars and their Indian allies to attack him on his own ground.

The rangers and many of the infantry, not knowing the wisdom nor the necessity of the measure, exhibited great marks of discontent at the retreat, and many of them refused to fight the enemy. But on his reappearance upon the opposite height, one impulse animated the whole detachment, which resolved on repulsing the assailants. The British commander then made a disposition to dislodge them, and throwing his militia and Indians across the ravine, above the road, he ordered them to commence the attack upon the north, south, and west sides of the encampment; whilst he charged down the road from the opposite height, crossed the bridge, and rushed furiously up the height occupied by the Americans, on their east or exposed side, with an intention of charging the regulars. This he did under a galling fire, which did not check his advances, until within

twenty paces of his object. There his front section being shot to pieces, and many of those who followed being wounded, his principal officers cut down, and the fire of the Americans increasing in vivacity, he abandoned the assault altogether, and took shelter in the neighbouring wood, at distances of fifteen, twenty, and thirty paces. Having arrayed his forces, he commenced a rapid fire from his cover, which was warmly returned, and increased on both sides. From those parts of the encampment protected by the logs, the rangers and militia fired with great coolness and precision. The regulars on the uncovered side, were directed to kneel, that they might be partially concealed by the brow of the height, and by these means were enabled to fire with more deliberation than their assailants.

After one hour's conflict, the British gave up all hopes of dislodging the detachment, and at twilight commenced their retreat. Captain Holmes did not pursue them, because they were still superior in numbers, and might draw him at night into an ambuscade, in a country much better known to them than to him; and, because he had already gained a sufficient triumph in repulsing and defeating the object of an experienced foe. The American loss amounted to six men killed and wounded. By their own official report, the enemy lost Captain Johnson, Lieutenant Grame, and twelve men killed, and Captain Besded, (Barden,) Lieutenant McDonald, and forty-nine men wounded, making a total of sixty-seven. The whole American force in action was one hundred and fifty rank and file, many of whom fought and marched in their stocking feet, and though the weather is extremely cold in that climate, in the month of February, they were not permitted, nor did they express a wish, to take a shoe even from the dead. Captain Holmes soon after returned with his detachment to the Michigan territory, and received the thanks of the commandant, and the brevet rank of major from his government. He spoke of all his officers in very flattering terms, but particularly of Lieutenants Kouns and Henry, and Ensign Heard of the 28th, and Lieutenants Jack son and Potter of the 24th, because their good fortune placed them in opposition to the main strength of the enemy.

After this event detachments were frequently sent out to re

connoiter the enemy's country, but for several weeks returned without being able to encounter any of his troops. Those on the American side of Detroit river, remained, therefore, in a state of perfect security; and the commanders of the land and naval forces employed the time in projecting various plans, by which to establish fortifications on the Lake St. Clair; to cut off the communications between Michilimackinac and the Indians; and to secure the inhabitants of the territory from their incursions.





CHAPTER XVIII.

Operations on the Niagara Frontier.

TO retrieve the disastrous consequences of the last northern campaign; to regain the possession of the posts in Canada, which had been obtained by conquest, and lost by the inefficacy of the means provided to retain them; to drive the enemy from the occupancy of the American garrison at the mouth of the Niagara; and to command the frontiers on both sides of that stream; various plans had been projected, numerous dispositions made, and measures were finally adopted for their achievement. To this end, General Brown, now elevated to the rank of major-general, was ordered to assemble and organize a division of the army at and in the neighbourhood of Black Rock and Buffalo. This division consisted of two brigades of regulars, the first commanded by Brigadier-General Scott, formerly of the 2d artillery, and the second by Brigadier-General Ripley, formerly of the 21st infantry. To these were added a brigade of New York volunteers, and a few Indians, under Brigadier-Generals Porter and Swift. During the months of April, May, and June, (1814,)

the concentration of this force was effected, and the principal part of that time employed in its discipline.

The first step towards the accomplishment of the objects of the campaign was the assault and capture of Fort Erie, which had been left in command of Major Buck, and garrisoned by one hundred and fifty officers and men of the 8th and 100th regiments. On the morning of the 3d of July, therefore, in boats provided for the purpose, the two brigades of regulars, under General Scott with the first, and the militia, under Major Hindman, crossed to the American shore a mile below Fort Erie, and General Ripley at the same distance above. The passage of the river was attended with much difficulty, from the impossibility of approaching the shore, where it had embarked. The debarkation was effected in two small boats, capable of containing not more than fifty men. The first brigade had landed before a gun was fired by the enemy, who had a picket near the place of landing. From these two they proceeded to the left, the fort was rapidly approached by the right wing, a party of Indians who had been crossed above, and in its rear. The garrison, entirely unapprised of these movements, was completely surrounded, and Major Jessup demanded the quiet surrender of the post. A few shots were fired, which wounded four men of the 25th regiment, under Major Jessup, of the first brigade, when Major Buck delivered the fort to the invading army. Immediate possession was taken of the garrison, and the prisoners were sent into the interior of New York. The passage of the troops across the channel, and the conveyance of the prisoners to the American shore, was superintended by Lieutenant-Commandant Angus of the navy.

Major General Riall, with a division of the British army, consisting of the best disciplined, and more experienced European troops, were at this time intrenched at Chippewa, and thither it was determined the Americans should proceed to attack and vanquish him. Arrangements were therefore made for the security of the fort and the protection of the American rear, by the

establishment of a small garrison, under Lieutenant McDonough, of the artillery, and the disposition of the marine force, near and in front of the fort.

On the morning of the 4th General Scott received orders to advance with his brigade and Towson's company of artillery upon Chippewa. In the course of the same day he was followed by General Ripley, and the field and park artillery, under Major Hindman, and by General Porter and his volunteers. On the right bank of Street's creek, two miles distant from the British works, the army was drawn up in three lines, the first brigade facing Street's creek and the bridge, the second brigade forming the second line, and the volunteers the third. The park of artillery was stationed on the right of the encampment, between the first and second line, and the light troops were posted within the same space on the left.

In its approaches from Fort Erie, along the Niagara to this position, the first brigade encountered the advanced corps of the enemy, strongly posted behind this creek. General Scott immediately ordered Captain Towson to go forward with his artillery and dislodge them. That gallant officer, in a few minutes compelled them to fall back, though not till they had intrepidly destroyed the bridge, over which the advancing column would be obliged to pass.

About the time at which Captain Towson opened his battery upon the enemy, Captain Crooker, of the 9th infantry, had been directed to flank out to the left of the brigade, to cross the stream above the bridge, and to assail the right of the enemy's guard. This movement was made with so much celerity, that Captain Crooker reached the enemy's position, and was in full pursuit of him when the brigade column arrived at the bridge. After retreating a short distance, the British commander being aware of the impossibility of Captain Crooker receiving a reinforcement of sufficient strength to combat the impetuosity of well appointed cavalry, until the bridge should be replaced, ordered his dragoons to turn upon, and cut up the detachment. Under the eye of the general commanding the brigade, and before the pioneers had rendered the bridge passable, Captain Crooker was surrounded and charged upon by a numerous troop of the British

[illegible] determined to cut through this [illegible] house not far from the [illegible] guard is raised, at the order of their [illegible] horsemen, and having first [illegible] them in a flight precipitate as [illegible]. At this moment, Captain [illegible] exhausted after so vigorous [illegible] apprehension of another [illegible] the arrival of Captains [illegible] with a small party [illegible] across the stream to his [illegible] brigade observed, [illegible] the conduct of [illegible]

[illegible] the encampment was [illegible] already described, and early on the [illegible] the enemy commenced an attack in various [illegible] upon the picket guards surrounding it. One [illegible] was commanded by Captain Treat, of the 21st infantry, [illegible] the camp, through a meadow of high grass [illegible] discharge of musketry. One man fell [illegible] the rear of the guard broke and retreated [illegible] to prevent the flight of the left of his [illegible] mistaken for an intention to avoid the enemy: [illegible] was ordered to a neighbouring wood, his guard [illegible] in pursuit of the party that had attacked [illegible] immediately after stripped of his command, upon [illegible] in retreating before the enemy, and of [illegible] the wounded man to their mercy. [illegible] never, been brought in by Captain Treat's [illegible] its march in quest of the enemy's party. [illegible] participation in some way or other in the [illegible] the captain entered as a volunteer, in the [illegible] which he had just before commanded; and the [illegible] the 21st regiment directed him to lead a platoon [illegible] This act was considered as a manifestation of his [illegible] and patriotism, and the court-martial before which he [illegible] dismissed him with an honourable acquittal



THE vivacity of these assaults upon the pickets gradually diminished until midday, after which they were revived with unabating vigour. General Riall, well acquainted with the position of the American forces, and aware of their intention to attack him, determined upon issuing from his intrenchments, and by striking the first blow to intimidate, and probably throw into disorder the whole line of the invading army. With this view he crossed the Chippewa with every species of his force, threw his right flank, his Indians, and a large detachment of his light troops, into the wood, on the left of the American encampment, and approached gradually with his main body upon the left bank of Street's creek. The movement in the wood was discovered early enough to frustrate the design of the British commander, and General Brown ordered General Porter to advance with the volunteers and Indians, from the rear of the camp, to conceal himself from the enemy's view, by entering the wood, to drive back his light troops and Indians, and, if possible, to gain the rear of his scouting parties, and place them between his line and the division of regulars. As General Porter moved from the encampment, the American outposts and advanced parties fell back, under the fire of the enemy, in order to draw him upon the centre of the front line.

General Porter met, attacked, and, after a short but severe contest, drove the enemy's right before him. His route to Chippewa was intercepted by the whole British column, arrayed in order of battle, and against this powerful force the volunteers desperately maintained their ground, until they were overpowered by the superiority of discipline and numbers.

As soon as the firing became regular and heavy between the volunteers and the enemy, General Brown rightly conjecturing that all the British regulars were engaged, immediately ordered General Scott's brigade, and Towson's artillery, to advance and draw them into action on the plains of Chippewa. General Scott had no sooner crossed the bridge over Street's creek, than he

... the enemy. Captain Towson ... battalions were in battle ... post on the river, with ... right, and thence played ...

... of the 21st, forming the first bat- ... took position on the right, ... regiment was led to its station by ... soon wounded, was succeeded in ... by Major McNeill. The third ... was formed by Major Jessup in the ... From this position that officer was ... right wing, then steadily advancing ... Whilst this order was in execution ... engaged in an animated contest with the ... marched Captain Ketchum with his com- ... detachment, at that moment coming ... of the body against which the 22d was ... Ketchum flanked out, encountered the first ... sustained a vigorous and desperate engagement. ... cleared its own front, and marched to the ... party.

... consummation of his plan, the major did not ... violent struggle. The British gave him an ... destructive fire, his men were falling around him ... great to leave him any hopes of victory; and he ... closely pressed, both in flank and front. His ... nevertheless, betrayed not the least disposition to falter. ... obeyed his order to "*support arms and advance.*" ... tremendous fire, until a position of more security was ... From this he returned the enemy's fire with such order ... that the British right flank fell back, and the bat- ... was enabled to come up in time to co-operate with Captain ... Towson's detachment.

... whole line of the enemy began about this time to recoil. ... the American right, the battalion of Major Leavenworth was ... only engaged with the British infantry, but frequently ex- ... the fire of the batteries. One of his officers, Captain



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Harrison, had his leg carried off by a cannon ball; but so doubtful, at that moment, did he consider the issue of the battle, that he would not suffer a man to be taken from his duty, to bear him from the field, and supported the torture of his wound with extreme fortitude, until the action ceased.

Major McNeill's battalion was also engaged, from the commencement until the close of the action, and, together with Major Leavenworth's, received the enemy on the open plain; of these the 9th and 22d were parallel to the attack, but the 11th had its left thrown forward so as to assail in front and flank, at the same time. Thus posted, Majors Leavenworth and McNeill, resisted the attacks of the enemy with great gallantry and zeal. On this end of the line, the fire was quite as incessant as on the left, and its effect not less destructive; but the troops displayed an equal degree of animation.

After the lapse of an hour from the commencement of the battle, Captain Towson, who had maintained his position on the river, notwithstanding one of his pieces, had been thrown out of action, having completely silenced the enemy's most powerful battery, turned his remaining pieces on the infantry, at that moment advancing to a charge. This accumulation of fire, the effective discharges of McNeill's musketry, peculiarly effective from their oblique position, the steadiness of the two battalions, and the apparent issue of the engagement between Jessup's and the British right wing, compelled General Riall to retire, until he reached a sloping ground, descending to Chippewa. From the point formed by this ground, his troops fled in confusion to their intrenchments behind the creek, and having regained their works, retarded the approaches of the conquerors, by means of their heavy batteries, on which alone they relied for safety in the event of their being obliged to retire.

About the time they commenced their charge, Major Hindman had ordered forward Captain Ritchie's company of artillery, and one piece, a twelve-pounder, under Lieutenant Hall. They arrived in time only to participate in the close of the action, but joined Captain Towson in pursuing the enemy, under the fire of his batteries, until he threw himself into the intrenchments.

Whilst the first brigade was thus gallantly engaged with this

superior force, in which were included the 100th regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel the Marquis of Tweedale, and the Royal Scots, under Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon. General Ripley, whose brigade was already formed in line of battle, proposed to the commanding general, to pass the left of the first brigade, to turn the enemy's right, and by taking a position in his rear, prevent his retreat to the Chippewa. But as the volunteers were at that moment falling back from the wood, on the left of the field, General Brown was of opinion that an attack would be made in that quarter, and deemed the presence of General Ripley's brigade necessary to receive and repel it. At the moment of their retreat, however, he determined to follow up the victory, by advancing against their works with all his ordnance, and directed General Ripley to adopt the proposition he had made. But such was the precipitation of the retreat, that this movement became unavailing, and on the report of two reconnoitering officers, Major Wood of the engineers, and Captain Austin, an aid to the general, as to the situation and security of the enemy's works, General Brown was induced to order all his troops back to their encampment.



THIS sanguinary battle resulted, as may well be supposed, in an immense loss on both sides. That of the Americans in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to three hundred and twenty-eight, sixty of whom were killed. Among the wounded, were Colonel Campbell, Captains King, of the 22d, Read, of the 25th, and Harrison, of the 42d, but doing duty with the 9th, Lieutenants Palmer and Brimhall, of the 9th, Barron, of the 11th, and De Witt and Patchim, of the 25th. The loss of the British, in killed, wounded, and prisoners was, according to General Brown's report, three hundred and eight; but by Lieutenant-General Drummond's returns, there were one hundred and thirty-nine killed, three hundred and twenty wounded, and forty-

six missing, making a total of five hundred and five; so that the number of the wounded British, was nearly equal to the aggregate loss of the Americans. Among these were the Marquis of Tweedale, Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon, Lieutenant Colonel Dickson, Captain Holland, aid-de-camp to General Riall seven captains, seventeen lieutenants, and four other subalterns

The liveliest testimonies of the applause of the people, and the honourable approbation of the government were given to Generals Scott and Porter. The brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel was conferred upon Majors Jessup, Leavenworth, and McNeill; and of major, upon Captains Towson, Crooker, and Harrison. But there were other gallant and distinguished officers, who shared in the perils and the fortunes of the day. Among the most conspicuous of these were Lieutenants Worth and Watts, aids to General Scott; Lieutenant Smith, his major of brigade; Major Wood, of the engineers, who superintended the construction of the works at Fort Meigs, during the memorable siege of that garrison; Captain Harris, of the dragoons, and Lieutenant McDonald, of the second brigade, who penetrated a wood, and annoyed the enemy's Indians.

Intelligence having been communicated to Lieutenant-General Drummond, of the defeat of Major-General Riall, that officer was immediately reinforced at Chippewa, by the 8th or King's regiment, from York; on the arrival of which, he disposed his troops in such order as to repulse an assault from the Americans. General Brown meanwhile remained at his encampment at Street's creek, and on the 8th of the month, determined upon an attempt to dislodge General Riall. General Ripley was for this purpose ordered to proceed with his brigade to a point three miles above the British works, on the Chippewa, to open a road of communication between Street's creek and that point; and to construct a bridge over the Chippewa, for the passage of the troops. This order was executed with great secrecy, and without loss of time, and the artillery was brought up in the course of the day, to cover the pioneers whilst constructing the bridge The enemy had no knowledge of this movement until the brigade arrived at the creek, and the artillery was already planted near its margin. General Riall, was then informed

by his outpost of these operations, and hastily forwarded a detachment of the royal artillery to check them. A cannonade ensued; but such was the effect produced by General Ripley's artillery, that the British pieces were withdrawn, the bridge was soon after completed, and General Riall apprehending an attack on his right flank and in front, from the formidable arrangements which he saw in preparation, abandoned his line of defenses, and retreated by the road to Queenstown. General Brown occupied the enemy's works that evening, and on the following morning, (the 9th,) pursued the route to Queenstown. Riall had, however, retired to the Ten Mile creek.

At Queenstown the American army was then encamped, and the commanding general held a council of war, for the purpose of maturing a plan of future and decisive operations. On the 12th, Brigadier-General John Swift, second in command to General Porter, and the same who had put the British marines to flight at Poultneyville, having offered to reconnoiter the enemy's position at Fort George, was detached with one hundred and twenty volunteers, to obtain a view of those works. On his arrival within its neighbourhood, he surprised and captured an outpost, consisting of a corporal and five men; one of these, after having surrendered to the detachment and requested quarters, availed himself of an advantageous moment, treacherously fired at and shot the general, who, notwithstanding the suddenness of the attack, and the severity of his wound, instantly levelled his piece and killed the assassin. The alarm produced by this fire brought up a British patrolling party of sixty men, against whom General Swift, regardless of the persuasion of his officers to attend to his wound, marched at the head of his detachment, and commenced an attack which resulted in the retreat of the enemy's party. The general, however, whose wound was mortal, fell, exhausted by the loss of blood, before the termination of the skirmish. His next officer beat the patrolling party into the fort, and returned to the encampment at Queenstown, with the body of his expiring commander. General Swift, whose loss was sincerely deplored by the whole army, and who had served with distinguished reputation, during the war of the revolution, was interred with the usual ceremonies and honours of a soldier.

The whole volunteer brigade to which the general was attached, solicited an opportunity to avenge the fall of their brave officer, and an opportunity was not long wanted.

At the consultation which was held by General Brown and his principal officers, a plan of attack upon Fort George was proposed; and, to the prejudice of a proposition, submitted by General Ripley, of following up General Riall; of driving him from the peninsula; or of striking as severe a blow as that which he had received at Chippewa, and thus totally annihilating his force—was adopted by a majority of the council. In order to ascertain the possibility of capturing that fort by a *coup de main*, the second brigade and the volunteers were directed to reconnoiter in the most secret manner. Whilst General Ripley approached along the Niagara, General Porter, to whose brigade was attached two field-pieces, under Captain Ritchie, of the regular artillery, advanced by the way of St. David's and the Cross Roads, to Lake Ontario, whence he could obtain a full view of Fort Niagara, and enable the principal engineer, Major Wood, to examine the works on that side of Fort George. After viewing the northern face of Fort Niagara, General Porter moved in upon Fort George, drove in all the enemy's pickets, and formed his brigade in the open plain, within a mile of the fort.

To enable the engineer to examine the works with more certainty, he ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Wilcox to advance with his command, under cover of a small wood, within musket-shot of the garrison. These positions were maintained upwards of an hour and a half, during which time the British batteries opened upon the troops on the plain. Several detached parties sent out to attack the volunteer light troops, were successively repulsed, and the object of the expedition being accomplished, General Porter moved round the south side of the fort, and joined General Ripley's brigade on the Niagara. As he retired, the enemy sent out several pieces of field artillery, and commenced a rapid fire upon his rear. The brigade, however, moved off in good order, with two men wounded; Lieutenant Fontaine, of the artillery, and an officer of the volunteers, had their horses killed under them by a cannon ball. In his approaches to the lake, General Porter deemed it necessary to station videttes upon the

... the fort. Five of these were captured ... Canadian militia, residing in the neigh- ... whom had been in the American en- ... avail themselves of the terms of General ... issued upon entering Canada, "that all ... themselves peaceably, and pursuing their ... should be treated as friends."

... and effect to the assault of Forts ... and to the occupation of Queenstown, St. ... General Brown, previously to his passage ... had adopted measures in conjunction with ... for the co-operation of the American ... 24th of July, he therefore moved with his ... Fort George, and took a position with a portion ... as well with a view to attempt ... some intelligence of the fleet. Com- ... the cross communicated the sailing of the ... General Brown, apprehensive of an ... and of his communication with ... the enemy then rising *en masse*, ... to protect his baggage. ... of the detention of the fleet, ... army of its heavy baggage, ... Heights, on the peninsula be- ... had, in the mean time, con- ... to draw from Schlosser a supply ... expedition, he retired on the 24th ... and Niagara: with the exception ... encamped on the right bank of ... was posted on the north side of ... block house in the advance.

... anxious to redeem the tar- ... arms, and having now aug- ... capable of offering battle, without ... forwarded a division under ..., who occupied the heights there, ... encampment by the Americans. From ... threw a large detachment of his

troops across the Niagara, to Lewistown, with a view to the capture of the American sick and wounded, at that time in the hospital at Schlosser, and the destruction of the baggage, ammunition, and provisions, deposited at that place. By expresses from Colonel Swift, commanding at Lewistown, General Brown was informed of this movement, and almost at the same moment, a picket stationed beyond the 9th regiment, reported an advanced party of the enemy on the Niagara road. To draw him from his purposed pillage of Schlosser, General Brown, having no immediate means of bringing off his sick and stores, nor of transporting troops to their defense, ordered General Scott to move with his brigade, then consisting of about seven hundred men, and Towson's artillery, still attached to it, in the direction of Queenstown.

At four o'clock in the afternoon of the 25th, (July,) the first brigade moved from the encampment in light marching order, the 9th regiment being in front of the column, and Captain Harris, with a troop of regular and volunteer dragoons, and a company of infantry, under Captain Pentland, of the 22d, constituting an advanced corps. About two miles and a half from the Chippewa, and within a short distance of the Falls of Niagara, the American and British advanced parties came within view of each other, and General Scott halted his column to reconnoiter the ground, and made arrangements for the reception or attack of the enemy. Lieutenant-Colonel Leavenworth, with the 9th, consisting then of only one hundred and fifty men, was immediately ordered to take the left of the road, within supporting distance of the column, which, on the execution of this order, again moved forward, the enemy retiring before it.

On an eminence, near Lundy's lane, at a point chosen by Major-General Riall, because of the decided advantage of the ground, the enemy was posted in great strength, with a formidable battery of nine pieces of artillery, two of which were brass twenty-four-pounders, and an extensive and heavy line of infantry. This position was extremely favourable to the operations of the battery, and there the British general had long wished to engage the troops, who had compelled him to retire from every other, at which battle had been previously given them.

On the arrival of General Scott's column at a narrow strip of woods, by which only the British line was obscured from his view, Captains Harris and Pentland were first fired on, and gallantly engaged the enemy's advance, which had gradually retreated, to draw the American column to the situation at Lundy's lane. The brigade column was again immediately halted, Lieutenant-Colonel Leavenworth ordered to his situation, and Lieutenant-Colonel Jessup, with the 25th, detached to attack the left of the British line. The 9th, 11th, and 22d passed the advanced corps, and moving to the north of the wood, entered a smooth field, in full view of the enemy, and within cannister distance of his battery. The rear of the column having cleared the wood, General Scott ordered the line to be instantly formed. This order was not executed before the British opened a tremendous fire from their battery, and the whole line of their infantry drawn up on its right, and obliquely in its front. Towson, with his artillery, was stationed on the right of the 9th, and though they could not be brought to bear upon the eminence, he animated the American line, by an incessant discharge from all his pieces.

Thus drawn up on both sides, the action continued with unceasing animation upwards of an hour, against a force then almost thrice superior to the American brigade. In the course of that time, the 11th and 22d regiments, having expended their ammunition, Colonel Brady and Lieutenant-Colonel McNeill being both severely wounded, and all the captains of the former, and most of the officers of the latter, either killed or wounded, both regiments were withdrawn from action, and many of the officers, but principally subalterns, attached themselves to the 9th, and fought under its gallant chief, in various capacities, and with unusual courage and perseverence. Among these were Lieutenant Crawford and Lieutenant and Adjutant Sawyer. Against the chief part of the British line, Lieutenant-Colonel Leavenworth, with the remains of the 9th alone, continued the engagement with unshaken firmness and bravery; and was at length directed to advance and charge up the height, and with the 11th and 22d, to break the enemy's line. Reduced as these three regiments already were, by the excessive loss of officers

and men, they nevertheless steadily advanced, with supported arms, until General Scott, learning the shattered condition of the 11th and 22d, countermanded the order.



THE enemy was at this moment pressing upon the left of the line; the right of the 9th was, therefore, thrown forward to meet and repulse him, and the whole regiment commenced a fire more animating, if possible, but certainly more destructive than the first. It is scarcely possible to do justice to the conduct of this gallant regiment, or of its intrepid commander. It had already given such signal instances of individual valour, as were never surpassed upon an open field. But valour alone is not competent to resist the repeated assaults of a numerous and increasing foe; and against a prodigious inequality of numbers, it is sometimes little less than madness to contend. The 9th regiment was at length reduced to nearly half the number with which it had entered the field, and being still pressed by the enemy, who frequently charged with a fresh line, Lieutenant-Colonel Leavenworth despatched an officer to General Scott, to communicate its condition. The general having been just informed of the approach of reinforcements from the Chippewa, rode immediately to the position of that regiment and directed it to maintain its ground.

That indefatigable and excellent reconnoitering officer, Lieutenant Riddle, of the 15th infantry, had been sent out in the morning, with a party of one hundred men, to scour the surrounding country. He had not proceeded more than three miles from the encampment, when, in attempting to gain the rear of a scout of the enemy, he was informed by several of the inhabitants, of his being close upon a division of three thousand of the British troops. At the time of his leaving the camp, General Brown had not been apprized of the contiguity of the enemy, and Lieutenant Riddle, therefore, hastened back with all possible speed to communicate the intelligence. The nature of the ground over which he had to retrace his steps, and the extreme caution with

which it was necessary to proceed, to avoid reconnoitering detachments of the enemy, lengthened his distance from the headquarters upwards of five miles. He had not arrived at the position of the Americans at Chippewa, when he was apprized of the meeting of the hostile armies, by the repeated and heavy discharges of artillery. Naturally concluding that General Brown's whole force had proceeded to the field of battle, and not hesitating a moment as to the course he should pursue, he wheeled his detachment upon the Niagara road, and immediately marched to a participation in the engagement. This detachment was the first reinforcing party which arrived to the relief of the first brigade, and General Scott stationed it on his extreme left, with directions to Lieutenant Riddle to watch the motions of the British riflemen and Indians.

By the same circumstance, the report of the artillery, General Brown was also first informed of the commencement of the action, and of its scene, and having directed General Ripley to follow with the second brigade, was already on his way to the falls, when he met the assistant adjutant-general, Major Jones, returning to the encampment at full speed for reinforcements. The intelligence communicated by Major Jones, induced the commander-in-chief to despatch him to order up General Porter's volunteers, in addition to the second brigade, and the park of artillery. General Brown then rode hastily, with his aids, accompanied by Major McRee, of the engineers, towards the field of battle, and on his further advance was met by a second messenger, Major Wood, also of the engineers, and who had marched with General Scott's brigade. From this gallant and accomplished officer, he received a report of the close and sanguinary character of the action, and directed him to return with him to the field.

Exhausted and reduced as the 9th, 11th, and 22d regiments already were, another vigorous onset from the enemy, sufficiently numerous to interpose occasionally a fresh line, might probably decide the fate of the day, before the arrival of the approaching reinforcements. The determined and obstinate manner, however, in which they had already received and repulsed the gallant and repeated charges of the British infantry, induced

Major-General Riall to overate their force. But to whatever measure of strength these intrepid regiments amounted, he knew also, that the number of his combatants would be augmented from the camp at Chippewa, and being assured of the necessity, in that event, of enlarging his own force, he despatched messengers to Lieutenant-General Drummond, at Fort George, to inform him of the desperate nature of the conflict. Until this period of the engagement, his force, including the incorporated militia and some Indians, amounted to sixteen hundred and thirty-seven men, being more than double the strength by which he was opposed.

Major-General Brown arrived at the scene of this obstinate struggle, about the time at which General Scott ordered the 9th regiment to maintain its ground, and seeing the exhausted state of the troops, and the shattered condition of the brigade, determined on holding it in reserve, whilst the reinforcing troops should continue the engagement. The 9th, 11th, and 22d regiments were, therefore, consolidated into one battalion, under Colonel Brady, who, though wounded, refused to quit the field until the result of the engagement should be known. General Ripley's brigade, Major Hindman's artillery, and General Porter's volunteers, all of whom had marched with unusual rapidity over a difficult road, were now within a short distance of Lundy's lane. General Ripley being in the advance, and within half a mile of the field, immediately despatched his aid-de-camp, Lieutenant McDonald, of the 19th infantry, to inform General Brown of his approach, and to receive instructions as to the situation of the enemy, and orders, as to the disposition of his brigade.

Immediately before the arrival of General Ripley, a temporary pause prevailed between the two armies; an awful and (but for the groans of the wounded soldiers) an unbroken silence was preserved among the troops on either side: the impetuous descent of the stupendous cataract of the Niagara, alone interrupted the pervading stillness, and contributed to the solemnity and grandeur of the scene; and the leaders of both forces having fallen back to their original positions, seemed mutually disposed to a momentary cessation of the sanguinary and fatiguing strife. The arrival of these reinforcements, under General Ripley, and

of others, under Lieutenant-General Drummond put an end to this suspension of hostilities, and the engagement was renewed with augmented vigour.

Major Hindman's artillery being brought up, the companies of Captains Biddle and Ritchie, in addition to Towson's detachment, soon came into action, and General Porter's volunteers were displayed upon the left of General Scott's brigade. Lieutenant McDonald, who had been despatched for orders, having met Captain Spencer, one of the aids of the commander-in-chief, bearing orders for the second brigade to form on the skirts of the wood, to the right of the first, immediately returned to General Ripley with these directions.

Meanwhile the 25th regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Jessup, which had been ordered, in the early part of the action, to take post on the right, had gallantly contended against, and succeeded in turning the enemy's left flank. Lieutenant-Colonel Jessup, availing himself of the extreme darkness of the night, and of the incaution of the British general, in not placing a proper guard across a road upon his left, threw his regiment in the rear of the enemy's reserve, and surprising one detachment after another, made prisoners of so many of their officers and men, that the operations of his firearms was constantly impeded. General Drummond, who was now commanding in person the front line of the enemy, having determined on concentrating his whole force, and leading it to the attack of General Scott's brigade, in front, and on each flank, had despatched his aid-de-camp, Captain Loring, to bring up General Riall with the reserve. It was the good fortune, however, of Captain Ketchum, of this regiment, whose eminent services greatly contributed to the victorious issue of the battle at Chippewa, to make prisoners of Major-General Riall, who was wounded in the arm, and the aid of Lieutenant-General Drummond, before the reserve was put in motion.

Had this concentration of General Riall's line, with that of General Drummond been effected, the reduced brigade, composed now only of the consolidated battalion, could not at this moment, and without the support of the second brigade, have withstood the assault of so overwhelming a force; and the movement of Lieutenant-Colonel Jessup, therefore, unquestion-

ably saved that battalion. Having hastily adopted proper arrangements for the disposal of his prisoners, Lieutenant-Colonel Jessup felt his way to the spot where the warmest fire was kept up upon the brigade to which he belonged. Eastwardly of Lundy's lane, and on the south of the Queenstown road, he drew up his regiment behind a fence, from which he could effectually annoy the enemy. A party of the British infantry were at that time drawn up in front of a fence, on the opposite side of the same road. Lieutenant-Colonel Jessup's approach to his present position, had been made with so much secrecy, that they did not know he was there, until they received a deadly and destructive fire, which compelled them to break and fly along the Queenstown road. By the blaze of this fire, Lieutenant-Colonel Jessup was discovered to Major-General Brown, who rode up, applauded his conduct, and directed him to move by Lundy's lane, and form upon the right of the second brigade.

The operations of that brigade were all this time carried on with the utmost brilliancy and success. When his aid-de-camp communicated the order of the commander-in-chief, General Ripley saw the impracticability of operating upon the enemy, from the position at which he was directed to display his column; or of advancing from it, in line, upon an emergency, through a close wood. At the same moment, too, General Drummond's infantry and all his artillery had commenced a galling fire upon General Scott's brigade, which could only be supported by a direct movement of the second brigade, upon the centre of the enemy's line. The impenetrable darkness of the night rendered it difficult for the generals of brigade at all times to find the commander-in-chief, or each other, and General Ripley, therefore determined to assume a responsibility, by adopting in time, the only movement which could save the first brigade from inevitable destruction, and ultimately achieve the victory.

He therefore proposed to Colonel Miller, the same who had distinguished himself in the earliest stage of the war at Maguaga, and who now commanded the 21st, or Ripley's old regiment, to storm the enemy's battery with that, whilst he would support him by leading up the 23d, a younger and less experienced regiment, to a charge upon the British flank. Colonel



Colonel Miller at Lundy's Lane.

Miller, well knowing the perilous nature of this duty, replied to his general, "*I'll try, sir,*"* and immediately put his regiment in readiness by forming it in line, on the left of the road, directly in front of his object. The 23d was at the same time formed in close column by its commander, Major McFarland, and the first which had arrived that day under Lieutenant-Colonel Nicholas, from a long and fatiguing march, was directed to menace the enemy's infantry. Whilst these dispositions were making, General Ripley despatched his aid to apprize General Brown of the impossibility of forming on the skirt of the wood, and of the measures which he had in consequence adopted. The commander-in-chief highly commended the design of the brigadier-general, and instantly authorized its execution. With hearts panting for the accomplishment of this enterprise, these regiments moved forward under a rapid and destructive fire, directed against them, at their very onset, by the enemy's whole line of musketry and every piece of his cannon. The 21st nevertheless, promptly pressed forward; the 23d faltered. It was, however instantly rallied by the personal exertions of General Ripley, who led it up to the contemplated charge. At a distance of little more than one hundred yards from the top

* Words afterwards worn on the buttons of the 21st regiment.

of the eminence, on which the British cannon were posted, and which these regiments were necessarily obliged to ascend, they received another, and equally as severe a discharge from the musketry and heavy pieces.

The 21st was now, however, too much enamoured of its object, and the 23d too obstinately determined on retrieving its fame, to betray the smallest disposition to recoil from the near consummation of their bold and hazardous enterprise. By this fire, Major McFarland, of the 23d, was killed, and the command of that regiment devolved upon Major Brooke, an officer of no less intrepidity and valour. The description of a more brilliant and decisive movement may never have been registered on the page of history. To the amazement of the whole British line, Colonel Miller steadily and silently advancing up the eminence, until within a few paces of the enemy's cannon, impetuously charged upon the artillerists, and after a short but desperate contest, carried the whole battery, and instantly formed his line in its rear, upon the same ground on which the British infantry had been previously posted.

In carrying the heaviest pieces, the 21st regiment experienced severe losses, several officers of distinguished bravery and merit, being either killed or wounded. Lieutenant Cilley, who commanded an advanced company of that regiment, by a resolute and unexampled effort, carried one of the guns, and fell wounded by its side immediately after. He had advanced upon it with such rapidity, as to bayonet the men stationed at it before they had time to escape, and cut down with his own hand, an artillerist who was applying a match to the piece. In the same charge Lieutenant Bigelow was killed, and Captain Burbank, and Ensigns Jones and Thomas, and Lieutenant Fisk, of the 19th, and Ensign Camp, of the 2d rifle, both attached to the 21st were wounded.

The advance of the 23d upon the British infantry supporting the cannon, being as pr[illegible]t as that of the 21st, both regiments pierced the e[illegible] same instant. Major Brooke, in obedi[illegible]neral Ripley, led his battalion, under [illegible] the very ranks of the ene[illegible] disorderly retreat,

marched up to the relief of Colonel Miller, who, though he had formed his line in the rear of the captured battery, had not yet driven the enemy below the eminence, and was at this moment closely pressed, almost at its summit. By the junction of these two regiments, however, and the bringing into line of the first, the fate of this assault was determined, the British infantry and artillerists retired beyond the reach of musketry, and their own cannon were turned against them.

The features of the action now began to assume a new character. The heights from which the enemy had been thus gallantly dislodged, being a very commanding position, the maintenance of them would alone determine the issue of the conflict, and General Ripley immediately formed his line for the protection of the newly acquired battery, and prepared to receive the assaults which he rightly conjectured would be made for its recovery.

When the capture of General Riall was announced, before the dislodgment of the British from the eminence, the elation of the first brigade was manifested by three loud huzzas, which brought a shell from the enemy, that fell in Major Hindman's corps and exploded a casson of ammunition belonging to the company of the brave and lamented Captain Ritchie, who, being mortally wounded in the course of the engagement, fell into the hands of the British. Major Hindman was now directed to bring up his corps, including Towson's detachment, and post himself, with his own and the captured cannon, on the right of General Ripley's brigade, and between it and the 25th; on the left of the second brigade, General Porter's volunteers were then ranged.

The line being thus formed, at the expiration of a short interval, Lieutenant-General Drummond, incensed beyond measure at the capture of his artillery, resolved on regaining it, and being strongly reinforced, advanced upon General Ripley, with a heavy and extended line, outflanking him on both extremes. In anticipation of his approach, which could only be discovered by the sound attending it, General Ripley had directed his troops to reserve their fire, until they had received that of the asailants, and, if necessary, to feel the bayonets, before they should discharge their pieces, with the double view of drawing the advancing line within close striking distance, and of making

fire more deadly and effective, by giving it a direction by the flashes of the enemy's musketry.

On the other hand, Lieutenant-General Drummond, thus resolutely determined on the recovery of his cannon, gave a peremptory order to all his platoon officers, to advance steadily, and without regard to the fire of the American line; and after attaining a given distance, to make a prompt and vigorous charge, and if possible, to fall directly upon the cannon. His whole division therefore, marched at a quick step, until it came within twenty paces of the summit of the height, when the several regiments received orders to pour in a rapid fire upon the American line, and to follow it with an immediate appeal to the bayonet. This fire was no sooner delivered, than the second brigade, the volunteers, and Lieutenant-Colonel Jessup's regiment, instantaneously returned it, and threw the enemy's line into a momentary confusion. But, being immediately rallied, it returned to a conflict more tremendous than any which had been witnessed in that day's battle. Upwards of twenty minutes, one blaze of fire succeeded another, in each line; sections, companies, and regiments, mutually fell back, and were successively rallied, and again brought into action; but at length the British line was forced back, and the doubtful contest terminated in their retiring to the lower extremity of the hill.

It was not to be supposed, however, that the enemy, the greatest proportion of whose troops had been accustomed to desperate feats of valour, and had encountered the most experienced battalions of the European armies, had yet consented to yield to an army but lately made up of the rawest materials, what in that event would be considered the trophies of a victory. Measures were accordingly instantly adopted by General Ripley to remove his wounded, and restore his line to proper order.

Whilst this splendid repulse was given to the assault of the enemy, General Scott's consolidated battalion, which had been until this time held in reserve, was drawn up in the rear of the second brigade, under Lieutenant-Colonel Leavenworth, Colonel Brady's wounds having rendered him unfit for active duty

eral Scott's brigade major, Lieutenant Smith, and his aid,

Worth, being at this time both severely wounded, he



General Miller.

selected an aid from the 9th regiment, and forming the battalion into column, marched it across the field, and displayed it on a narrow lane, parallel with and to the south of Lundy's lane. From this position he despatched Lieutenant-Colonel Leavenworth to seek the commander-in-chief, and to receive his orders as to the disposition of the battalion. General Brown being conducted to its position by the colonel, a short conversation followed between the two generals, the result of which was the immediate movement of General Scott's command into Lundy's lane, where it was to be formed, with its right towards the Niagara road, and its left in the rear of the captured battery.

Having given a new arrangement to his troops, General Drummond, after a lapse of half an hour, was discovered to be advancing to a second charge. He was received with undiminished firmness, and General Ripley's order to retain the fire being repeated, the whole British line discharged its musketry from the same point at which it had previously paused. The light which was thence emitted, enabled the Americans to fire with the utmost precision, and to check the enemy's nearer advance. The repeated discharges of Major Hindman's artillery, which was served with uncommon skill and regularity, were severely felt by the advancing line, and the officers attached to it behaved with coolness and gallantry.

The situation on the top of the eminence gave many and decided advantages to General Ripley's command; scarcely a shot was fired, which failed of hitting its object, whilst the fire of the British, being more elevated, generally went over the heads of the Americans. General Ripley being of a tall stature, and mounted within eight paces of the rear of his line, was by this circumstance constantly exposed to the enemy's balls. His horse was wounded under him, and his hat twice perforated in the course of the second attack. After the first discharge, in this effort to regain his battery, the British general determining to break the centre of the American line, composed of the 21st regiment, and detachments of the 17th and 19th levelled his fire at that point. With the exception of a few platoons, the 21st, however, remained unshaken. These being immediately rallied by General Ripley, the contest continued with great vivacity, until the enemy finding he could not make another impression on the American, and feeling his own line recoiling, again fell back to the bottom of the eminence.

Immediately after the commencement of this second contest, the remains of the first brigade were also brought into action. At the time of the second discharge, the two lines being nearly parallel, and enveloped in a blaze of fire, General Scott, who had approached the top of the eminence to ascertain their situation, now rode hastily back to his brigade, demanded, in an animated voice, of Colonel Leavenworth, "*are these troops prepared for the charge?*" and, without waiting for a reply, ordered them into close columns, their left in front, and to move forward and charge. This order being executed almost as soon as it was given, the general led up the column, and passing between the pieces of artillery, advanced upon the enemy's left.

The gallantry of General Scott's troops, however, could not prevail against a double line of infantry, by which the British flank was supported, and this charge being met with unexpected firmness, the consolidated battalion fell back, and passed to the extreme left of General Porter's volunteers, who were all this

with the enemy. Lieutenant-Colonel

ordered to reform the column, and to

e, General Scott led it to a

second charge, and made a resolute attempt to turn the enemy's right. This flank being also protected by a double line, the attempt was not more successful than the former; and the battalion again falling back, was ordered to form on the left of the line, whilst the general passed to the right, and joining Lieutenant-Colonel Jessup's regiment, had his shoulder fractured by a musket ball, and almost at the same instant, received a severe wound in the side, which compelled him to leave the field; not, however, without having first returned to Lieutenant-Colonel Leavenworth, whom he ordered to move to the right of the line and consolidate his battalion with the 25th regiment, the commander of which was also severely wounded. General Scott had hitherto escaped the fire of the enemy with singular good fortune: he had been constantly, and, probably, too often, in the most exposed situations: he led his troops in person to the separate charges, and never shrunk from any part of the engagement, however desperate or dangerous. He was now conveyed to the encampment at Chippewa, whence he was soon after removed to the American side of the Niagara.

HAVING thus failed in two vigorous and determined efforts for the recovery of his pieces, the British general began to despair of any better success from a third; but the fortunate arrival of another reinforcing party from Fort George, now protected by four of the British fleet, reanimating his troops, he put them in readiness for another charge, by forming a fresh line with the new detachment. Upwards of half an hour having elapsed since his second repulse, it was considered very doubtful by the Americans, whether their ability to maintain their ground would be put to another trial. Excessively fatigued by the violence of the last struggle, their canteens being exhausted, and no water (an article now almost as indispensable as ammunition) at hand to replenish them, it would be wondered at if they had either courted or desired a renewal of the contest. But they were determined to lose no part of the reputation which they had that night acquired, and if the cannon were again to be defended, they would be defended with equal vigour and

mation. Their doubts were very soon removed by the approach, in a more extended line, of the whole body of the British troops, who, independently of their reinforcements, had the advantage of being amply refreshed from the plentiful resources of Queenstown and St. David's.

The advance of the enemy was no sooner made known to General Ripley's line, than the ardour of all his men instantly revived, and remembering the order of their gallant commander, to refuse their fire, they prepared to receive that of the approaching line.

The British delivered their fire nearly within the same distance as before, but they did not fall back from the fire of the Americans with the same precipitation. Their fresh line steadily advanced, and repeated its discharge; the Americans remained firm, and returned it; and an obstinate and tremendous conflict followed. The 21st again manifested its determined character, and, under the direction of Colonel Miller, dealt out a destructive fire upon its assailants. The right and left repeatedly fell back, but were as often rallied, and brought into the line, to preserve which, the exertions of the general and Colonels Miller, Nicholas, and Jessup, and all the other officers were constantly required.

On the other hand, the fresh troops of the British, were as unshaken as their antagonists, the 21st; but the regiments and sections which had been before repulsed, recoiled again, and were repeatedly urged forward by their officers. At length the two lines were on the very summit of the hill, each at the point of the bayonets of the other, and both appealing to that weapon with unusual force and rapidity. Such was the obstinacy of the contending parties, that many battalions on both sides were forced back by the vigour of the combat, and the British and American lines became mingled with each other. At that part of the height on which the cannon were stationed, the battle was most desperate. The enemy having forced himself into the very midst of Major Hindman's artillery, two pieces of which the officers of that corps were compelled to spike, he was warmly engaged across the carriages and guns; and the slaughter which took place upon the eminence, sufficiently evinced his determi

to recapture, and the resolution of the American artil-

lerists to retain the trophies which the gallantry of the infantry had won.

The close and personal contests now prevailing from one end of the line to the other, produced a degree of confusion, which the coolness and energy of the general could scarcely suppress. The broken sections were at length, however, restored to the line, and having regained their several positions, compelled the enemy's right and left wings to fall back. The centre of his line, imitating the example of the flanks, also gave way, and the assault upon the artillery, after a dreadful conflict, being at this moment repulsed, the whole British line fled precipitately a third time. The personal and most active exertions of their principal officers could not retard the flight of the troops, and they retreated beyond the reach either of musketry or cannon. General Drummond, seeing that the repulse of this last and most determined effort had wearied and depressed his line, and feeling assured that it would be difficult to lead them on to another attempt, which, too, in all probability, would be followed by a more disastrous discomfiture, consented to relinquish his cannon, and retired beyond the borders of the field, over which were strewed the dead and wounded of both armies.

At the commencement of the last charge, Major-General Brown, while attending to the formation of Lieutenant-Colonel Leavenworth's battalion, was severely wounded by a musket ball, in the right thigh. A little while after, he received a second wound on the left side, and being compelled to quit the field, retired also to the Chippewa, and devolved the command on General Ripley. Though the British had been forced to withdraw from the action, that officer, not knowing whether they had yet yielded the victory, or whether they contemplated the adoption of measures, by which still to retrieve the honour of their arms, reformed his line, and held it in readiness to receive an attack, in whatever manner it should be made.

Convinced of the necessity of the removal of the captured cannon, and of the immense loss which would thence be prevented, General Ripley had frequently despatched his aid to General Brown, for the means of transporting them from the field. No means were, however, at hand, most of the horses being already

killed, and the remainder necessary to draw off the American pieces. General Ripley, therefore, at the close of the engagement, ordered General Porter to detach a party of his volunteers to assist in their removal. But the British guns being unlimbered, and in a dismantled condition, it was found to be impracticable to draw them away, but by means of dragropes; none of which were at that time on the ground. Reluctant as were all the troops of the line to abandon the trophies which had been gained by the resistless valour of the second brigade, to difficulties now found to be insurmountable, they were obliged to yield.

It was at this moment, while in conversation with Lieutenant-Colonel Leavenworth, whose battalion was then condensed with the 25th regiment, and commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Jessup, and who had been sent by that officer, for directions as to the dispositions of the first brigade, that General Ripley received an order from General Brown to collect the dead and wounded, and to return with the army to its encampment on the Chippewa. In obedience to the wishes of the commander-in-chief, this order was put into immediate execution. Major Hindman, with the artillery, was already on his march, and the remnants of the regular and volunteer brigades, having first rolled the smaller pieces of the enemy's cannon down the precipice, returned to the camp in good order, and without molestation, about one o'clock on the morning of the 26th.

In this instance, as at the defense of Sackett's Harbour, where it has been seen, the British troops were opposed and repulsed by the same commander, the enemy claimed another decisive and more brilliant victory. The governor-general, Sir George Prevost, and the commanding-general, Drummond, complimented the regulars and militia engaged in it, "*for their exemplary steadiness, gallantry, and discipline, in repulsing all the efforts of a numerous and determined enemy, to carry the position of Lundy's lane,*" and announced, "*that their exertions had been crowned with success, by the complete defeat of the enemy.*"

If, upon ground of their own selection, and with a body of sixteen hundred and thirty-seven men, to assail an advance party of an enemy of only seven hundred and fifty, and after an hour's obstinate conflict, to repose on their arms, until they could be

relieved by reinforcements;—if, after a mutual reinforcement, their enemy's numbers should amount to two brigades of four teen hundred and fifty infantry, a detachment of three hundred and sixty-seven artillery, and a corps of six hundred volunteers making in all two thousand four hundred and seventeen men, and their own force should consist, according with a report of one of their officers, of three thousand four hundred and fifty regulars, twelve hundred incorporated militia, and four hundred and eighty Indians, making in all, five thousand one hundred and thirty men, and, with this disparity of strength, they should be driven from the eminence on which they had advantageously posted themselves, with the loss, too, of all their cannon;—if, after three desperate assaults, any one of them upwards of twenty minutes in duration, for the recovery of their battery, and with the ability to interpose fresh lines, to be successfully repulsed, with immense losses, and after a contest of six hours (from half past five in the evening, until twelve at night) between some of the best disciplined troops of Europe, and the newly raised recruits, the former eventually to withdraw from the field, and leave their enemy in possession, not only of their cannon, but of one of their generals, the second in command, the first having narrowly escaped capture. If this be to effect the complete defeat and overthrow of their adversary, the British troops certainly achieved a brilliant and decisive victory; the governor-general of the Canadas was in the performance of his duty when he complimented them for their steadiness; and the prince regent of England betrayed no precipitation, when he announced it to the world, and permitted "NIAGARA" to be worn upon the caps of one of the regiments.

The captured artillery, it is true, was reobtained by its original owners, but its return to their possession was neither the result of any desperate effort to regain it, nor the evidence of a victory. They had entered into the engagement under circumstances highly advantageous. Their force could be continually augmented either by requisitions for militia, or by the concentration of their regulars from the neighbouring posts, and was already double the strength of the Americans. They were surrounded by deposits of ammunition, and being in the

vicinity of the garrisons, could at any time administer to the wants of their army. Not so the Americans. They were at a distance from any resources, whence they might derive either supplies or reinforcements. Their numbers had been lessened by repeated skirmishes with the enemy, and by the casualties commonly incident to armies. With the odds against them, they had been drawn into this tremendous struggle, the long duration of which so much exhausted their troops, and reduced their numbers, that after becoming the entire masters of the field, and keeping possession of it nearly an hour, they retired, with a force not amounting to the complement of two regiments. In this reduced state, and without the means of removing the captured property, they left the enemy's cannon at the foot of the eminence, on which they had proudly and gallantly wrested it from him. Had their means been less limited, they might have embellished the conquest not only with these, but other splendid trophies, put all disputation for ever at rest, and left no alternative to the enemy, but an acknowledgment of his defeat and disgrace. In a battle, desperate and tremendous as this is represented to have been, the losses on each side must necessarily have been immense. In killed, wounded, prisoners, and missing, the total of both armies amounted to one thousand seven hundred and twenty-nine, the proportion being nearly equal, and the killed and wounded alone one thousand three hundred and eighty-four. On the side of the enemy, one assistant adjutant-general, one captain, three subalterns, and seventy-nine non-commissioned officers and privates were killed; Lieutenant-General Drummond, Major-General Riall, and three lieutenant-colonels, two majors, eight captains, twenty-two subalterns, and five hundred and twenty-two non-commissioned officers and privates were wounded; and the prisoners and missing amounted to one aid-de-camp, (Captain Loring,) five captains, nine other subalterns, and two hundred and twenty non-commissioned officers and privates, making in all eight hundred and seventy-eight men.

Many officers of distinction fell also on the other side, and the total loss was little less than that of the British. It consisted of one major, five captains, five subalterns, and one hundred and

fifty-nine non-commissioned officers and privates, killed; Major-General Brown, Brigadier-Generals Scott and Porter, two aids de-camp, one brigade major, one colonel, four lieutenant-colonels one major, seven captains, thirty-seven subalterns, and five hundred and fifteen non-commissioned officers and privates, wounded; and one brigade major, one captain, six subalterns, and one hundred and two non-commissioned officers and privates, missing; making a grand total of eight hundred and fifty-one, and a difference of twenty-seven only, between the contending parties.

Of the individual gallantry of the officers, from the highest in rank down to the youngest subaltern, the most positive evidence is furnished, by the long list of killed and wounded. Every man upon the field being engaged in the battle, the bravery of no one officer was distinguishable from another, except in those instances when, by the change of the enemy's movements, detachments were thrown into situations, from which they could be extricated only by the most daring intrepidity.

When the American forces returned to their encampment at the Chippewa, Major-General Brown directed General Ripley to refresh the troops, and proceed with them, early in the morning, to the battle ground—with a view, no doubt, to reconnoiter the enemy, and if he loitered near the field, in a position from which he might be advantageously driven, to engage him; but certainly not to assail a superior force, under circumstances, to the last degree unfavourable, and which would inevitably result in the total destruction of the American army. The troops, now amounting to about fifteen hundred and sixty, being put in motion, in obedience to this order General Ripley despatched reconnoitering parties in advance of his main body. From these he learned that the enemy was posted on the field in advance of his former position on the eminence, reinforced as had been reported by the prisoners, his line drawn up between the river and a thick wood, his flanks resting on each, and his cannon stationed so as to enfilade the road. Under such circumstances, it would have been highly injudicious to have attacked him, and where no advantages are to be gained, the useless effusion of human blood is a stain upon the ability and valour as well as

upon the judgment and humanity of the soldier. General Ripley, seeing the impossibility of regaining the field of battle, and the probability of his own flanks being compelled to fall back, by the immense superiority of the enemy's numbers, turned his army towards the Chippewa; whence, having first destroyed the bridges over that stream, as well as the platforms, which he had previously constructed at the enemy's old works there, he pursued his retreat towards the Fort Erie, and reached it in good order on the following day. There he determined upon making a decided stand against the British troops, whose regular and gradual approaches he anticipated.





CHAPTER XIX.

Further operations on the Niagara Frontier.



HIS retrograde movement of the American army was no sooner effected, and the situations of the different regiments allotted in the encampments, than the commanding general (Ripley) immediately directed the lines of defense to be extended, the fort enlarged, and new batteries erected. With the aid of the engineers, Lieutenant-Colonels Wood and McRee, defenses of abatis, traverses, intrenchments, and redoubts were instantly commenced, and from the 27th of July until the 2d or 3d of August, the troops were employed night and day, in placing the works in a state to sustain the expected and almost certain attack. Had Lieutenant-General Drummond followed up the victory which he claimed, he would have found the shattered American brigades scarcely in any kind of condition to resist him. But the cautious enemy did not choose to pursue a retreating army, whose troops had given him such signal proofs

of their intrepidity, until his own numbers were again enlarged. On the 29th of July, being reinforced by the right and left wings of De Watteville's troops, eleven hundred strong, he pushed forward to the investment of the fort. This reinforcement extended his numbers to five thousand three hundred and fifty-two men, and with this formidable superiority of strength, he appeared on the 3d day of August, before a fort, which but a few days before was declared by the enemy to be a wretched stockade, altogether incapable of defense.

Having driven in the American pickets, and formed his encampment two miles distant from the garrison, he gradually approached within four or six hundred yards of the fort, properly so called, commenced a double line of intrenchments, erected batteries in front of them at points from which he could throw in an effectual fire, and planted his cannon so as to enfilade the works. Seeing by these indications that the British commander was preparing for a regular siege, General Ripley availed himself of the time thus lost by the enemy in opening his trenches, and carried on his defensive arrangements with unceasing alacrity.

The approach of the British army, on the 2d of August, being discovered by Major Morgan of the 1st riflemen, to whom, with a detachment of two hundred and forty men, the defense of the village of Buffalo, which had regained its former flourishing condition, was intrusted, he suspected the enemy of making a feint upon Fort Erie, with a view to an actual attack upon Buffalo. To defeat any such object, he immediately took a position on the upper side of Conejockeda creek, cut away the bridge crossing it, and threw up a breastwork of logs in the course of the night. Though the British general had no intention of making a feint, Major Morgan's precautions, in anticipation of an attack, were not uselessly adopted; for, early in the morning of the 3d, a detachment of the enemy's 41st regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Tucker, crossed the Niagara, in nine boats, and landed about half a mile below the creek. At the approach of day, the British colonel commenced an attack upon
tachment, and sent forward a party to repair the bri
cover of his fire. Major Morgan did not

enemy's advances until he was within rifle distance, when he opened a fire which proved so destructive, that Lieutenant-Colonel Tucker fell back to the skirt of a neighbouring wood, and kept up the contest at long shot. In the mean time General Drummond threw over reinforcements, and the British detachment now amounted to nearly twelve hundred men. With this force Colonel Tucker attempted to flank his antagonist, by despatching his left wing to ford the creek above, and press down upon the opposite side; this movement being observed, Major Morgan sent forward Lieutenants Ryan, Smith, and Armstrong, to oppose the fording party. Between these detachments an engagement took place a short distance above the breastwork, and after several heavy discharges, the enemy fell back to his main body, with considerable loss. Lieutenant-Colonel Tucker, finding that the object of his expedition against Buffalo, the recapture of General Riall, and the destruction of the public stores there, could not be achieved without an immense loss, and knowing the desire of Lieutenant-General Drummond, to augment, rather than decrease the force destined for the siege of the fort, on the opposite shore, he determined on abandoning the enterprise, and drawing of his troops to Squaw island, returned thence to the Canadian shore. With so small a force Major Morgan could not attempt to annoy him in his retreat. He is supposed to have lost a considerable number of men, many dead bodies being found in the creek, and upon the field, and six prisoners being taken by the detachment. In this gallant little affair, Captain Hamilton, and Lieutenants Wadsworth and McIntosh of the riflemen, and five privates were wounded, and two privates killed.

By the 7th of August, most of the batteries and traverses about Fort Erie were completed. Upon a battery upwards of twenty feet high, and situated at Snake Hill, the southern extremity of the works, five guns were mounted, and the command given to Major Towson, of the artillery. Two other batteries between Towson's and the main works, one mounting three guns, under Captain Biddle, and the other two guns, under Lieutenant Fontaine. were also completed. The northern point of the fort had been extended to the water, and the Douglass battery, of two

guns, erected on the bank. The dragoons, infantry, riflemen, and volunteers, were encamped between the western ramparts and the water, and the artillery, under Major Hindman, stationed within the main works.

Whilst these preparations were making, several partial cannonades took place, without any known effect on either side. Before any regular firing was commenced, Brigadier-General Gaines arrived at the fort, and assumed the command of the army. General Ripley then returned to the command of his brigade. The British army was now strongly posted behind their works, and General Gaines determined to ascertain their strength, and endeavour, if possible, to draw them out. On the 6th, he sent the rifle corps, with Major Morgan, who had been previously transferred from the American shore, to pass through the woods, intervening between the British lines and the fort, and with orders to amuse the enemy's light troops, until his columns should indicate an intention to move; in that event, Major Morgan was to retire gradually, until his corps should have fallen back upon a strong line posted in the plain before the fort, to receive the pursuing British troops.



THE object of this movement failed—Major Morgan having encountered and forced the enemy's light troops into the lines, with the loss of eleven killed, and three wounded, and made prisoners; and notwithstanding he maintained his position upwards of two hours, he could not succeed in drawing forth the main body of the British troops. He therefore returned to the fort, after losing five men killed, and four wounded.

By the 10th, the enemy's line was protected by several blockhouses, and a long wooden breastwork. To examine these works, Captain Birdsall, of the 4th rifle regiment, was sent out with a detachment of the 1st, and his own company, amounting in all to one hundred and sixty men. After some skirmishing, he succeeded in beating in two of their picket guards, with a loss on their side of ten men killed, and one killed and three wounded of the riflemen.

On the 12th, a working party of the enemy, supported by a guard of his light troops, was discovered to be opening an avenue for the construction of an additional battery, from which to annoy the rear of the fort. Agreeably to the orders of General Gaines, Major Morgan detached about one hundred men, under Captain Birdsall, to cut them off; that officer immediately assailed the guard, and after a smart contest, drove in both it and the working party. In the event of the enemy's guard being reinforced from their lines, Major Morgan had been also ordered to hold his corps in readiness to support Captain Birdsall; and as a large body of the enemy was observed to be approaching upon the detachment, the major promptly moved forward and engaged it. A warm and spirited conflict followed, in which several men were killed on both sides. At length, however, an additional party of the enemy coming up to the aid of that engaged, Major Morgan ordered his corps to retire, and had scarcely given a signal to that effect, when he received a musket ball in the head, which for ever deprived the garrison and the country of his valuable services. The corps was conducted to the fort by Captain Birdsall, and the body of its brave and lamented commander interred at Buffalo, with the proper honours and solemnities.

During these repeated skirmishes, and in the intervals, between the sorties of detachments, the besiegers and the besieged were diligently engaged in strengthening their respective works; and from the 7th until the 14th of the month, an almost unceasing fire was kept up between them, with various effect. On the night of the 14th, the emotion and tumult in the British encampment gave certain indications of an intended attack upon the fort. General Ripley, always on the alert, was among the first to discover these indications, and having first ordered his brigade, stationed to the left, to be formed within the line of defense, he despatched his aid, Lieutenant Kirby, to inform General Gaines of his conviction of the enemy's contemplation. General Gaines was himself already persuaded that an attempt would very soon be made to storm the garrison; and Lieutenant Kirby had no sooner delivered his message at head-quarters, than the firing of a picket, commanded by Lieutenant Belknap,

of the infantry, assured him that the moment had arrived. Dispositions were immediately made to receive the assault, and the troops of the garrison anticipated its result with pride and enthusiasm.

Lieutenant-General Drummond having appointed the morning of the 15th for a vigorous and sudden assault upon the fort, had previously arranged the order of attack in three columns, to be made at three distinct points, with a view to harass and distract the garrison. His right column, under Lieutenant-Colonel Fischer, of the 8th, and composed of parts of the 89th and 100th regiments, De Watteville's, detachments from the royal artillery with rockateers, and a picket of cavalry, was to make a detour of three miles through the woods, and to assault the southern extremity of the works. His centre column, under Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond, of the 104th, and composed of detachments from that and the 41st regiment of infantry, of the royal artillery, seamen and marines, was to be conducted by Captain Barney, of the 89th, to the attack of the fort. The left column under Colonel Scott, of the 103d, and composed of that regiment, was to be led by Captain Elliot, to penetrate the openings in the works between the fort and the lake, and to scale the battery upon the bank. In advance of Lieutenant Fischer's column, the British pickets on Buck's road, together with the Indians of the encampment, were to be pushed on by Lieutenant-Colonel Nichols, to drive in the American outposts. The royals, another part of De Watteville's regiment, the Glengarians, and the incorporated militia, under Lieutenant-Colonel Tucker, were to be held in reserve; and the 19th light dragoons, stationed in the ravine in the rear of the fort, to receive and convey the prisoners to the encampment, a duty which it did not fall to their lot to perform.

General Gaines, not knowing at what points the assault would be made, prepared to receive it at all those which he suspected the enemy might judge to be assailable. The command of the fort and bastions was given to Captain Alexander Williams, of the ar[illegible], with the battery on the margin of the la[illegible]ouglass, of the engineers, and thence [illegible] the north-east and south-east



General Gaines.

angle of the works. In a block-house, near the salient bastion a detachment of the 19th infantry was stationed under Major Trimble. The batteries in front, under Captains Biddle and Fanning, were supported by General Porter's volunteers, and the corps of riflemen. The whole body of artillery, distributed throughout the garrison was commanded by Major Hindman. The first brigade of infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Aspinwall, was posted on the right; and General Ripley's brigade supported Towson's battery, and the line upon the left. On the evening of the 14th, a few hours before the commencement of the assault, and whilst these dispositions were making to repel it, one of the enemy's shells fell into a small magazine within the American works, and produced an awful explosion. From one end of the British line to the other, a loud shout was in consequence uttered, but as no bad effect followed the explosion, the shout was repeated in the fort, and in the midst of the enemy's exultation, Captain Williams immediately discharged all his heavy pieces

At half an hour after two, on the morning of the 15th, though the darkness was excessive, the approach of Lieutenant-Colonel Fischer, with the right column, thirteen hundred strong, was distinctly heard on the left of the garrison. The 2d brigade,

the command of the 21st regiment having been given to Lieutenant-Colonel Wood, of the engineers, and the artillery of Towson's battery were prepared to receive him. Marching promptly forward, Lieutenant-Colonel Fischer assailed the battery with scaling ladders, and the line toward the lake with the bayonet. He was permitted to come close up to the works, when the 21st and 23d regiments, and the artillery upon the battery opened a sudden and tremendous fire, which threw his whole column into confusion, rendered him utterly unable to sustain the contest, and prevented his making an impression upon the works. Having retired some distance to reorganize his column, he immediately made new arrangements for, and varied the shape of, his next attack, so as to avoid those points, from which the greatest measure of destruction had been dealt out to him. According to the general plan, however, which it was incumbent on him to pursue, it was necessary that the battery should be carried; but, with the means to effect this object he was badly provided. With scaling ladders of no more than sixteen feet in length, he could not possibly throw his troops upon a battery of about twenty-five feet high, and his second attempt, equally furious as the first, met with no greater success. He was again repulsed, and with considerable loss. Convinced of his inability to get possession of the battery, and feeling the deadly effects of the incessant showers of grape which were thrown upon him, he determined in his next effort to pass the point of the abatis, by wading breast deep into the lake, to which the works were open. In this attempt also he was unsuccessful, nearly two hundred of his men being either killed or drowned, and the remainder precipitately falling back. Without waiting to know the result of the attack, upon the right of the works, which had been already made by the second and third column, he ordered a retreat to the British encampment, which he did not effect, without the loss of many of his rear guard, taken prisoners, in a sally made from the works by the order of General Ripley.

The attack from the centre and left column, the first of seven hundred, and the second of eight hundred men, was reserved until the contest became very animated between Lieutenant-Colo Fischer's column and the troops upon the left. From the

line of defenses, between the Douglass battery and the fort, and from those in front of the garrison, Lieutenant-General Drummond supposed reinforcements would be drawn to the aid of the southern extremity of the works, and with this view he had given greater strength to his right, than to his other columns, and intended to avail himself of the consequent weakened state of the north and south-east angles of the American post.

The pickets being driven in, the approach of Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond was heard from the ravine, and Colonel Scott's column at the same time advanced along the margin of the water. From the salient bastion of the fort, Captain Williams immediately opened his fire upon the centre column, whilst the approach of Colonel Scott was attempted to be checked by the Douglass battery, and Captains Boughton's and Harding's New York and Pennsylvania volunteers on its right; the 9th infantry under Captain Foster, on its left; and a six-pounder, planted at that point, under the management of Colonel McRee. At fifty yards distance from the line, the enemy's left column made a momentary pause, and instantly recoiled from the fire of the cannon and musketry. But the centre column, having advanced upon every assailable point of the fort, in defiance of the rapid and heavy discharges of the artillery, and having ascended the parapet by means of a large number of scaling ladders, its officers called out to the line, extending to the lake, to desist firing—an artifice which succeeded so well, that the Douglass battery, and the infantry, supposing the order to proceed from the garrison, suspended their fire, until the deception was discovered. The left column in the mean time, recovered from its confusion, and was led up to a second charge, from which it was again repulsed before it had an opportunity of planting the scaling ladders, and with the loss of its commander, and upwards of one-third of its men.

Whilst the second attempt was in operation, the centre column was, with great difficulty, thrown back from the salient bastion; and the troops within the fort, were quickly reinforced from General Ripley's brigade, and General Porter's volunteers. But Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond, actuated by a determination (not to be overcome by a single repulse) to force an entrance into



Defense of Fort Erie.

the garrison, and momentarily expecting the reserve to be ordered up by the lieutenant-general, returned to the assault a second and a third time. By the gallant efforts, however, of Major Hindman, and his artillery, and the infantry detachment of Major Trimble, he was, each time, more signally repulsed than before; and Colonel Scott's column having withdrawn from the action, upon the fall of its leader, Lieutenant Douglass was busily engaged in giving such direction to the guns of his battery, as to cut off the communication between Drummond's column and the reserve of Lieutenant-Colonel Tucker.



THE new bastions which had been commenced for the enlargement of the old Fort Erie, not being yet completed, the only opposition which could be given to the enemy's approaches upon those points, was by means of small arms. The batteries of Captain Biddle and Captain Fanning (formerly Fontaine's) in the works intervening between Towson's battery and the fort, were, therefore, opened upon the enemy with great vivacity, and his advances from the plain, frequently checked by those gallant and meritorious officers.

After this third repulse, Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond, taking advantage of the darkness of the morning, and of the heavy columns of smoke, which concealed all objects from the view of the garrison, moved his troops silently round the ditch, repeated his charge, and reascended his ladders with such velocity, as to gain footing on the parapet, before any effectual opposition could be made. Being in the very midst of his men, he directed them to charge vigorously with their pikes and bayonets, and to show no quarter to any yielding soldier of the garrison.* This order

* General Gaines, in his official letter, speaking of Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond, observes, "The order of '*Give the Yankees no quarter*,' was often reiterated by this officer, whose bravery, if it had been seasoned with virtue, would have entitled him to the admiration of every soldier."

was executed with the utmost rapidity, and the most obstinate previous parts of the engagement formed no kind of parallel to the violence and desperation of the present conflict.

Captain Williams, and Lieutenants McDonough and Watmough, of the artillery, being in the most conspicuous situations, were personally engaged with the assailants, and were all severely wounded; the first, Captain Williams, mortally.* Not all the efforts of Major Hindman and his command, nor Major Trimble's infantry, nor a detachment of riflemen under Captain Birdsall, who had posted himself in the ravelin, opposite the gateway of the fort, could dislodge the determined and intrepid enemy from the bastion; though the deadly effects of their fire prevented his approaches beyond it. He had now complete possession of the bastion. About this time, Lieutenant McDonough's wounds rendered him almost incapable of further resistance, and he demanded quarter from the enemy, but Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond personally refused it, and repeated his instructions to his troops to deny it in all instances. The shocking inhumanity of this order roused the exhausted spirit of the lieutenant, and, seizing a handspike, he defended himself against a numerous party of the assailants, until he received a pistol shot discharged at him by the hand of their commander. Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond survived this act but a few moments, the fall of McDonough being avenged by a person standing near him, who immediately shot the colonel through the breast.

The loss of their leader did not check the impetuosity of the enemy's troops, and they continued in the use of their pikes and small arms until the day broke, and repulsed several furious charges made upon them by detachments of the garrison. The

* This amiable young officer was the son of Colonel Jonathan Williams, who had long been at the head of the United States engineer department, to whom the nation is greatly indebted for the construction of many of the principal fortifications; and who was a member elect of the fourteenth congress, from the city of Philadelphia. The captain was also formerly of the engineer corps, but having been transferred to the artillery, and being anxious to share in the honours and the perils of the campaign of 1814, he solicited to be sent to the Niagara frontier, and received an order to repair thither from Fort Mifflin, a garrison which, for several months, he had commanded with reputation. Early in the spring of that year, though in a state of convalescence from a dangerous fever, he proceeded to the lines, and joined the army of General Brown, in which no officer was more universally esteemed.

approach of daylight enabled both parties to give a more certain direction to their fire. The artillerists had already severely suffered; but, with those that remained, and a reinforcing detachment of infantry, Major Hindman renewed his attempts to drive the British 41st and 104th from the bastion. Captain Birdsall, at the same moment, drawing out his riflemen from the ravelin, rushed through the gateway into the fort, and joining in the charge, received an accidental wound from one of his own men, just as the attack failed. Detachments from the 1st brigade, under Captain Foster, were then introduced over the interior bastion, to the assistance of Major Hindman; these detachments were to charge at a different point of the salient or exterior bastion, and were handsomely led on by Captain Foster and the assistant inspector-general, Major Hall. This charge also failed; the passage up the bastion not being wide enough to admit more than three men abreast. It was frequently however repeated, and though it sometimes occasioned much slaughter among the enemy's infantry, was invariably repulsed. By the operations of the artillery from a demi-bastion in the fort, and the continual blaze of fire from the small arms, added to the effects of the repeated charges, the enemy's column, being considerably cut up, and many of its principal officers wounded, began to recoil; which, being observed by the besieged party, and the contest having entirely subsided on the left flank of the works, reinforcements were brought up from that point, and many of the enemy's troops, in a few moments, thrown from the bastion.

The British reserve was now expected to come up; the guns at the Douglass battery had by this time been turned so as to enfilade that column in its approach; Captain Fanning was already playing upon the enemy with great effect; and Captain Biddle was ordered to post a piece of artillery so as to enfilade the salient glacis. This piece was served with uncommon vivacity, notwithstanding Captain Biddle had been severely wounded in the shoulder. All these preparations being made for an effectual operation upon the enemy's remaining column, and from the dreadful carnage which had already taken place, it was scarcely supposed that he would continue the assault much longer. But

ed men of the reserve, were about to rush,

upon the parapet to the assistance of those recoiling, when a tremendous and dreadful explosion took place, under the platform, which carried away the bastion, and all who happened to be upon it.* The enemy's reserve immediately fell back, and in a short time the contest terminated in the entire defeat of the assailants, who returned with the shattered columns, to their encampment.

On retiring from the assault, according to the report of General Gaines, the British army left upon the field two hundred and twenty-two killed, among whom were fourteen officers of distinction, one hundred and seventy-four wounded, and one hundred and eighty-six prisoners, making a total of five hundred and eighty-two. Others who were slightly wounded had been carried to their works.

The official account of Lieutenant-General Drummond does not acknowledge so large a number in killed, but makes the aggregate loss much greater. His adjutant-general reported fifty-seven killed, three hundred and nine wounded, and five hundred and thirty-nine missing—in all nine hundred and five.

The American loss amounted to seventeen killed, fifty-six wounded, and one lieutenant, (Fontaine,) who was thrown over the parapet while defending the bastion, and ten privates prisoners—in all eighty-four men; making a difference in their favour of eight hundred and twenty-one. During the cannonade and bombardment which commenced on the 13th, and continued

* This explosion, to which alone the enemy attributed the failure of his arms, notwithstanding the signal repulses of his right and left columns, has been variously accounted for. It was occasioned by the communication of a spark to an ammunition chest, placed under the platform of the bastion, but by what means the narrator of this event has not been able, after an investigation of many papers written to him upon the subject, to ascertain. It is to be regretted, that a fact constituting so important a feature in this memorable defense, should never have been satisfactorily developed. Several letters from officers, engaged at the right flank of the American works, state it to have been the result of entire accident; whilst others relate, that Lieutenant McDonough, not having been immediately removed from the foot of the bastion, on which he had been twice wounded, and being highly exasperated at the determination which he saw in the conduct of the enemy's troops to show no mercy to the vanquished soldier, resolved upon devoting himself to stop the progress of their inhuman career, and to this end threw a lighted match into a chest of ammunition, and by its immediate explosion, produced those tremendous effects, which restored the bastion to the Americans, and terminated the conflict.

until an hour before the assault on the morning of the 15th, forty-five men of the American garrison were killed and wounded. Captain Biddle, Lieutenant Zantzinger, and Adjutant-Lieutenant Watmough, of the artillery, and Lieutenant Patterson, of the 19th infanty, among the latter.

A night or two before the attack upon Fort Erie, the British general furnished Captain Dobbs, of the royal navy, with a sufficient number of troops to man nine boats, which were completely fitted, to attack the three schooners, the Somers, Porcupine, and Ohio, then lying at anchor off the fort. The Porcupine succeeded in beating them off, but the Somers and Ohio were carried, after a gallant resistance, in which the enemy lost two seamen killed, and four wounded; and the schooners, one seaman killed, and three officers and four seamen wounded. The captured schooners were taken down the Niagara, and anchored near Frenchman's creek; the Porcupine immediately after sailed for the town of Erie.

In consequence of his immense losses in the assault, the enemy's force was reduced almost to the number of the troops within the garrison; and until he was again reinforced, he did not think proper to carry on his operations. A few days brought him a reinforcement of two full regiments, and having enlarged his batteries, and made arrangements to force the Americans to the evacuation of Fort Erie, he opened a fire from his whole line, and threw in hot shot, shells, and every destructive implement within his reach, without intermission, during the remainder of the month of August. On the 28th General Gaines was severely wounded in several parts of his body, by a shell which fell through the roof of his quarters, and exploded at his feet. He was fortunate enough to escape suffocation, by gaining the door of the apartment, but being entirely disabled, he retired to Buffalo, and left the command again in the hands of General Ripley, who neglected no means to facilitate the completion of the works, which, with the assistance of the engineers, he had originally planned.



CHAPTER XX.

Invasion of Vermont.---Further operations on the Niagara Frontier.



THE operations against the enemy's positions along the Niagara had scarcely been entered upon, when the governor-general, Sir George Prevost matured the plan of an expedition, having for its object, the invasion of the American territory from Lower Canada; the defeat and destruction of the right division of the United States army, then lying in the neighbourhood of Plattsburg, under Major-General Izard; and the subjugation of the country to Crown Point and Ticonderoga. No offensive measures, against any part of Lower Canada, by this army, being in contemplation, and the apprehensions of the war department having been strongly excited about the safety of the left division, after its investment at Fort Erie, General Izard received orders to march for that post, with a reinforcement of

the largest proportion of his troops, and to assume the command of the garrison. Accordingly, after detaching about fifteen hundred men, under Brigadier-General Macomb, most of whom were either sick or convalescent, and requiring of General Mooers, of the New York militia, the aid of a few volunteer companies, for the defense of Plattsburg, he marched for Sackett's Harbour, with upwards of three thousand men. Being thus left in command of a position, open to the attacks of the enemy's naval, as well as his land forces, General Macomb neglected no precaution to prevent surprise, and to put his small army in the best state of discipline, though on the 1st of September, in consequence of the best brigades having been broken up, to form General Izard's division, he had but one battalion properly organized. The works erecting were on that day unfinished, and the troops, therefore, divided into detachments to complete them.

Transports, with troops, had been continually arriving at Quebec, from England, and such was the secrecy and address with which Sir George Prevost made preparations for his intended expedition, that, before the 1st of September, he had organized a powerful army of fourteen thousand men, opposite Montreal, constituted of the most experienced generals, and distinguished officers of the British army. This comparatively immense force consisted of three brigades, and a corps of reserve, the brigades being divided into twenty-four divisions, and having a staff composed of two lieutenant-generals, five major-generals, and a proportionate number of assistants and deputies. The respective brigades were commanded by major-generals Robertson, Powers, Brisbane, and Baynes, (adjutant-general.) Major-General Kempt commanded the reserve. Sir Sidney Beckwith was quarter-master-general to this army, and Lieutenant-General De Rottenburg, the second in command; Sir George Prevost commanding in person.

About the 1st of the month, he occupied with these troops the village of Champlain, and issued addresses and proclamations, inviting the citizens to his standard, and promising them the protection of his majesty's government. From Champlain he continued to make gradual approaches towards Plattsburg, until the 6th. Early on the morning of that day, he made a rapid

advance, in two columns, one coming down the Beckmantown road, and the other along the Lake road. At a bridge crossing Dead creek, intersecting the latter, General Macomb had stationed a detachment of two hundred men, under Captain Sproul, of the 13th, to abatis the woods, and to place obstructions in the road; after which, he was to fortify himself with two field-pieces, sent with him for that purpose, and to receive orders from Lieutenant-Colonel Appling, who, with one hundred riflemen, was reconnoitering the enemy's movements some distance in advance of this position. The brigade of General Brisbane, which approached through the Beckmantown road with more rapidity than the other, was met by about seven hundred militia, under General Mooers, who, after a slight skirmish with the enemy's light parties, with the exception of one or two companies fled in the greatest disorder. Those who were intrepid enough to remain, were immediately formed with a corps of two hundred and fifty regulars, under Major Wool, of the 29th, and disputed the passage of the road for some time. But their fears also getting at length the better of their judgment, notwithstanding the enemy fired only from his flankers and patrolling parties, they followed the example of their comrades, and precipitately retired to the village. Major Wool's regulars remained firm, however, and being joined by Captain Leonard's park of flying artillery, and the 6th, and a detachment of the 34th regiments, continued to annoy the advanced parties of the British column, and killed Lieutenant-Colonel Wellington, of the 3d, or buffs, who was at its head.

General Macomb, at this moment personally directing the movements in the town, soon saw that the enemy's object in making so much more rapid a march on its west, than on the north, was to cut off Lieutenant-Colonel Appling's and Captain Sproul's detachments, despatched his aid, Lieutenant Root, with orders to those officers to withdraw their forces from Dead creek, to join the detachment of Major Wool, and to fall upon the enemy's right flank. Whilst Lieutenant-Colonel Appling was proceeding in obedience to this order, he was encountered on the north side of the town by the light divisions of the enemy's 1st brigade, sent for the purpose of cutting him off, and which

had that moment emerged from the woods. Their numbers were superior, and had he been delayed an instant longer on the Lake road, he must inevitably have yielded. Here he engaged, but after a short contest, retired before them. In the centre of the town he re-engaged them, and being joined by Major Wool, was ordered to retire to the American works on the south of the Saranac.



THE retreat was effected in good order, and covered by a guard of one hundred and twenty men, under Captain McGlassin, of the 15th infantry; the detachments alternately retiring and keeping up a brisk and effectual fire upon the British columns. Having reached the works with a trifling loss, General Macomb ordered Lieutenant Harrison, of the 13th, under the direction of Major Wool, and protected by Captain Leonard's artillery, to destroy the bridge over the Saranac.

This order was not executed without some difficulty, the British having occupied the houses near the bridge, with their light troops, kept up a constant fire from the windows, and wounded Lieutenants Harrison and Turner, of the 13th and Taylor, of the 34th. These troops were, however, soon after dislodged by a discharge of hot shot from the American works, and in conjunction with the right column, were engaged the remainder of the day in various attempts to drive the guards from the several bridges. But the planks had all been taken up, and being placed in the form of breastworks, served to cover the American light parties stationed for the defense of the passages.

The obstructions which had been thrown in the way of the column advancing by the Lake road, and the destruction of the bridge over Dead creek, greatly impeded its approaches, and, in attempting to ford the creek, it received a severe and destructive fire from the gun-boats and galleys anchored in front of the town. But not all the galleys, aided by the armament of the

whole flotilla, which then lay opposite Plattsburg, under Commodore McDonough, could have prevented the capture of Macomb's army, after its passage of the Saranac, had Sir George Prevost pushed his whole force upon the margin of that stream. Like General Drummond at Erie, he made a pause, in full view of the unfinished works of the Americans, and consumed five days in erecting batteries, and throwing up breastworks, for the protection of his approaches. Of this interval the American general did not fail to avail himself, and kept his troops constantly employed in finishing his line of redoubts.

Whilst both parties were thus engaged in providing for the protection of their forces, the main body of the British army came up with the advance; and General Macomb was also reinforced by the militia of New York, and the volunteers from the mountains of Vermont. Skirmishes between light detachments, sallies from the different works, and frequent attempts to restore the bridges, served to amuse the besiegers and the besieged, while the former were getting up a train of battering cannon, and the latter strengthening their lines, and preparing to repel the attack. In one of these skirmishes on the 7th, a British detachment making a violent effort to obtain possession of the pass of a bridge, was handsomely repulsed by a small guard under Lieutenant Runk of the 6th infantry, who received a musket ball in his body, and expired on the following day. He was the only officer killed during the siege.

The New York militia and Vermont volunteers were now principally stationed at the different bridges crossing the Saranac, or in the wood opposite the fording places. From these positions they annoyed the enemy's guards, and poured repeated discharges of musketry into his masked batteries.

Two of General Macomb's new works were called Fort Brown and Fort Scott, and opposite the former, it was suspected a very powerful masked battery had been constructed, in order suddenly to demolish it, at a time of general attack. To discover the truth of this suspicion, and if possible to destroy or to mutilate such a work, Captain McGlassin, on the night of the 9th, volunteered his services to ford the river with a competent detachment. His enterprise was approved of by the general,



Burlington Bay.

who assigned him the command of fifty men. With these the captain succeeded in fording the river nearly under Fort Brown, and upon gaining the opposite shore, proceeded with great secrecy about three hundred yards. At this distance from the margin of the river, he encountered a guard of one hundred and fifty men, whom he instantly engaged, and with such vigour and address, as to deceive them, with respect to his own force, and after a short contest to drive them behind a work, which he discovered to be the suspected masked battery.

Having succeeded in the accomplishment of one of the objects of his enterprise, neither Captain McGlassin, nor his brave detachment, could think of returning to the army, without having signalized the expedition by some act, more important in its consequences than the putting to flight an enemy's guard, however superior in numbers. He accordingly led up his detachment to charge upon the work, into which the British guard had fled, and by one or two vigorous onsets, in which he had but one man wounded, he carried the battery, and entirely routed its defenders, with the loss of their commanding officer and sixteen men killed, and several wounded. Being now in possession of a work which would have incalculably annoyed the batteries at Fort Brown, Captain McGlassin destroyed it with all possible haste, and returned to the American works with the loss of three men missing. For this gallant and hazardous essay, which had a tendency not only to deceive the British general with regard to the actual force of General Macomb's army, and to inspire the troops, militia as well as regulars, with a spirit of enterprise, but placed a principal work, Fort Brown, beyond the possibility of being silenced, Captain McGlassin received the public thanks of his commanding officer, and the brevet rank of major from the president of the United States.

On the morning of the 11th, the motives of the British general, in delaying his assault upon the American works, became apparent. Being assured of his ability at any time to destroy them by a single effort, he was regardless of the manner in which they might be gradually strengthened, and awaited the arrival of the British squadron from Lake Champlain, in co-operation with which he contemplated a general attack, and the easy cap

ture of the American fleet and army. On that day his fleet, consisting of a large frigate, the Confiance, of thirty-nine guns; the brig Linnet, of sixteen; the sloops Chub and Finch, (formerly the United States sloops Growler and Eagle,) of eleven guns each; and thirteen gun-boats and row-galleys, mounting in all ninety-five guns, and having a complement of one thousand and fifty men, made its appearance, under Captain Downie, round Cumberland Head, and immediately engaged the American squadron under Commodore McDonough, then moored in Plattsburg bay, and consisting of the ship Saratoga, the brig Eagle, the schooner Ticonderoga, the sloop Preble, and ten gun-boats, mounting altogether eighty-six guns, (the largest vessel carrying twenty-six,) and being manned with eight hundred and twenty men.

The first gun from the Confiance was the signal for a general action, and Sir George Prevost instantly opened his batteries upon the works on the opposite bank of the Saranac. A tremendous cannonade ensued; bomb shells and congreve rockets were thrown into the American lines during the whole day, and frequent but ineffectual attempts made to ford the river. At a bridge about a mile up the river, an attempt to throw over a division of the enemy's army was handsomely repulsed by a detachment of regulars; and an effort to force the passage of the bridge in the town was effectually checked by a party of riflemen, under Captain Grosvenor. But the principal slaughter took place at a ford three miles from the works. There the enemy succeeded in crossing over three companies of the 76th regiment before his advance was impeded. A body of volunteers and militia, stationed in a contiguous wood, opened a heavy fire upon them, and after a spirited contest, in which one of these companies was entirely destroyed, its captain killed, and three lieutenants, and twenty-seven men made prisoners, those who had attained the shore fell back in disorder, upon an approaching column, then in the middle of the river. The receding and advancing columns mingled with each other, and being closely pressed by the volunteers, the whole body was thrown into a state of confusion, from which the officers could not recover them; numbers were killed in the stream, and the dead and



Battle of Lake Champlain.

wounded being swept along by the force of the current, sunk into one common grave.



IT was the result of the engagement between the two naval armaments, which continued upwards of two hours, in presence of the contending armies, which determined the action upon land. Its effects were sensibly felt by the British general, whose plans were completely frustrated by its issue. After getting round Cumberland Head, Captain Downie anchored his fleet within three hundred yards of the line formed by Commodore McDonough, and placing the Confiance frigate in opposition to the Saratoga, the Linnet to the Eagle, Captain Henley, one of his sloops, and all his galleys, to the schooner Ticonderoga, Lieutenant-Commandant Cassin, and the sloop Preble, his other sloop alternately assisting the Saratoga and Eagle. The latter vessel was so situated, shortly after the commencement of the action, that the guns could not be brought to bear, and Captain Henley cut her cable, and placed her between the commodore's ship and the Ticonderoga, from which situation, though she exposed the Saratoga to a galling fire, she annoyed the enemy's squadron with much effect. Some minutes after ten o'clock, nearly all the guns on the starboard side of the Saratoga being either dismounted or entirely unmanageable, Commodore McDonough was obliged to put out a stern anchor, and to cut the bower cable, by which means the Saratoga winded on the enemy's frigate with a fresh broadside, which being promptly delivered, the Confiance immediately after surrendered, with one hundred and five round shot in her hull, and her captain and forty-nine men killed, and sixty wounded. The Saratoga had fifty-five round shot in her hull, and had been twice set on fire by hot shot from the Confiance, but she sustained a loss of only twenty-eight in killed, and twenty-nine wounded, notwithstanding she mounted thirteen guns less than her antagonist. The Confiance had no sooner surrendered, than the Saratoga's broadside was sprung to bear on the brig, whose flag struck

fifteen minutes after. Captain Henley, in the Eagle, had already captured one of the enemy's sloops, and the Ticonderoga, after having sustained a galling fire, caused the surrender of the remaining vessel. The principal vessels of the British fleet being now all captured, and three of their row galleys sunk, the remaining ten escaped from the bay in a shattered condition.

Among the officers killed on board the Saratoga, was the first lieutenant, Gamble, and on board the Ticonderoga, Lieutenant John Stansbury, son of General Tobias Stansbury, of Maryland, who was shot upon mounting the netting, to discover in what manner the guns of his division might be brought to bear more effectually upon one of the enemy's vessels. Among the wounded were Lieutenant Smith, acting Lieutenant Spencer, and Midshipman Baldwin. The total loss of Commodore McDonough's squadron amounted to fifty-two men killed, and fifty-eight wounded. The enemy's loss was eighty-four men killed, one hundred and ten wounded, and eight hundred and fifty-six prisoners, who alone amounted to a greater number than those by whom they were taken.

The capture of his fleet being announced to Sir George Prevost, he immediately withdrew his forces from the assault of the American works. From his batteries, however, he kept up a constant fire until the dusk of the evening, when, being silenced by the guns of Fort Moreau, under Colonel M. Smith, and of Forts Brown and Scott, he retired within the town, and at nine at night sent off his artillery, and all the baggage for which he could obtain transport. About midnight he made a disgraceful and precipitate retreat, leaving behind him all his sick and wounded, with a request that they might be generously treated by General Macomb. At daybreak of the 12th, this movement being discovered by that officer, he immediately despatched his light troops, and the volunteers and militia, in pursuit. The enemy, however, had retired with such celerity, as to reach Chazy before the pursuit was commenced, and a violent storm prevented its continuance. Immense quantities of provisions, bomb shells, cannon balls, grape shot, ammunition, flints, intrenching tools, tents, and marquees were taken, and upwards of four hundred deserters surrendered themselves in the course of



Commodore McDonough.

the day. Besides these Sir George lost seventy-five prisoners, and as nearly as could be ascertained, about fifteen hundred killed and wounded, among them several officers of rank. The loss of the American army, which, with the accession of the volunteers and militia, did not exceed twenty-five hundred men, amounted to thirty-seven killed, sixty-two wounded, and twenty missing.

For the gallantry which they displayed in this splendid engagement, General Macomb, Lieutenant-Colonel Appling, Majors Wool, of the 29th, and Totten, of the engineers, whose services were eminently conspicuous in the construction of the works, and Captain Brooks of the artillery, received the brevet rank of the grades next above those which they held on the day of the action. Captain Youngs, of the 15th, had been put on board the squadron, with a detachment of infantry to act as marines; and for his coolness and intrepidity, in a species of service distinct from that to which he was attached, was also breveted. Captain Grosvenor, of the infantry, and the brigade major, Lieutenant Duncan, of the artillery, were conspicuous

for their zeal and activity throughout the engagement; the latter was charged with the delivery of the despatches to the war department. Promotions took place also in the navy, and Commodore McDonough was immediately elevated to the rank of post-captain.

The investment of Fort Erie was all this time continued; the troops of the garrison were actively engaged in the completion of the bastions and of the abatis on the right flank; and the beseigers employed in the erection of additional batteries intended to enfilade the western ramparts of the American works. General Brown had returned to the post, and resumed the command of the army, which had been in the mean time reinforced by new levies of militia. About the middle of September, after these arrangements were completed, an attempt to dislodge the enemy from his intrenched works, and to deprive him of the means of annoying the garrison, was determined on. A sortie was planned, and the morning of the 17th appointed for its execution. Lieutenants Riddle and Frazer, of the 15th infantry, had already opened a road from the southern angle of the garrison to a point within pistol-shot of the enemy's right wing, and with such secrecy, that it was not discovered until the actual assault was commenced. About noon the regulars, infantry, and riflemen, and the volunteers and militia, were in readiness to march; and before two o'clock the sortie was made. The division issuing from the left, was commanded by General Porter, and composed of two hundred riflemen and a few Indians, under Colonel Gibson, and two columns, the right commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Wood, and the left by Brigadier-General Davis, of the New York militia. These columns were conducted through the woods by Lieutenants Riddle and Frazer, and approached upon the enemy's new battery, on his right, with such rapidity, as to surprise the brigade stationed at his line. His batteries, Nos. 3 and 4, were gallantly stormed, and after thirty minutes close action, both carried. Colonel Gibson and Lieutenant-Colonel Wood, fell at the head of their columns, almost at the onset, and the respective commands devolved upon Lieutenant-Colonel McDonald and Major Brooks.

A block-house in the rear of battery No. 3 was also carried, and its garrison made prisoners. Three twenty-four-pounders

and their carriages were destroyed, and after the prisoners were secured, and the American columns moved beyond its influence, Lieutenant Riddle descended into the magazine, and, first taking out a quantity of fixed ammunition, set fire to a train leading to several barrels of powder. The explosion took place much sooner than the lieutenant expected, and not being able to escape in time, he was covered with the combustibles and fragments of the magazine, from which he was extricated with the utmost difficulty. At the moment of this explosion, the right division of the troops which had been stationed in the ravine between the fort and the enemy's works, under General Miller, with orders not to attack until General Porter had engaged the enemy's right flank, first came up to the assault, and in co-operation with Colonel Gibson's column, pierced the British intrenchments between their batteries Nos. 2 and 3, and after a severe contest, carried the former. In this assault, Brigadier-General Davis, of the New York militia, fell at the head of his corps.

The enemy's second block-house, his batteries 2 and 3, and his unfinished battery No. 4, with the intervening breastworks and intrenchments, being now all in the possession of the Americans, General Miller's division inclined towards the river with a view to assail his battery No. 1, erected at the extremity of his left flank. At this point the enemy made a much bolder and more obstinate resistance. There his defenses were constructed with the most studied intricacy; breastworks had been thrown up connecting his first and second battery; successive lines of intrenchments intersected each other for nearly a hundred yards in their rear; and rows of abatis and timber planted in multiplied involutions, formed impediments to the approach of the assailants, produced some confusion in the column, and made constant appeals to the bayonet necessary.

Before General Miller attempted this movement upon the battery near the water, General Brown had ordered up General Ripley with the reserve, comprised of the 21st regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Upham, and desired him, as the senior officer in advance, to ascertain the general situation of the troops, and to withdraw them from the enemy's works, as soon as the object ·rtie, the destruction of his batteries, was effected. The

reserve, in obedience to this order, promptly advanced to the support of Miller's column, and came into the engagement as the enemy's force was strengthened from his encampment. This column was composed of the 9th, the 11th, and part of the 19th infantry; the first being commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Aspinwall, who lost his left arm in the assault; and the last, by Major Trimble, who was dangerously shot through the body. Under the immediate direction of the same gallant leader, who had carried the cannon upon the eminence at Lundy's lane, and aided by Lieutenant-Colonel Upham, with the 21st and part of the 17th, it made a rapid charge upon, and stormed the remaining battery, which was instantly abandoned by the British infantry and artillery.

General Ripley then ordered a line to be formed in front, for the protection of the detachments engaged in spiking the enemy's guns, and demolishing the captured works. This line he determined also to strengthen, in order to annoy the rear of General Drummond's retreating forces, and was in the act of forwarding these arrangements, when he received a dangerous wound in the neck, and fell by the side of Major Brook, of the 23d, whose command was at that moment engaged with a detachment on the enemy's right. His aid, Lieutenant Kirby, caused him to be removed to the garrison, and General Miller having ordered the right wing to fall back, the troops upon the left were shortly after recalled, and the operations ceased with the accomplishment of all the objects of the sortie.

The troops then returned to the garrison with their prisoners, and many trophies of their valour; and, on the third day after, Lieutenant-General Drummond, who had been joined before the sortie by Major-Generals De Watteville and Stovin, broke up his encampment, raised the siege, and hastily retired upon Fort George! In addition to the loss of nearly all his cannon, his force was again reduced at least one thousand men; and, notwithstanding the results of forty-seven days incessant labour were destroyed, and eleven of his officers, and three hundred and seventy-four of his non-commissioned officers and privates made prisoners, and transferred to the American shore, he called the event a repulse of an American army of five thousand men



General Brown.

by an inconsiderable number of British troops. Including the names already mentioned, General Brown's army lost ten officers and seventy men killed; twenty-four officers and one hundred and ninety men wounded; and ten officers and two hundred and six men missing—in all five hundred and ten.

Not long after the enemy had been thus compelled to raise the siege of Fort Erie, the garrison was enlarged by the arrival of the right division, under Major-General Izard, who superseded General Brown in the command of the army. The accession of this division, and the strength of the defenses, which were all by this time entire, and some of them garnished with heavy cannon, rendered Fort Erie impregnable to the attacks of any other than a vastly superior force; and the month intervening between the 17th of September and the 18th of October, was constantly employed in drilling, and harmonizing the discipline of the two wings of the army. In the neighbourhood of Cook's ek, a branch of the Chippewa, it was under-

stood that quantities of provision were desposited for the use of the British troops, and General Izard directed General Bissell, commanding the 2d brigade of the 1st division, to march thither and seize them. On the 18th he proceeded on the expedition, and after driving in a picket guard, and capturing its commanding officer, he threw two light companies, under Captain Dorman, of the 5th, and Lieutenant Horrell, of the 16th infantry, and a company of riflemen, under Captain Irvine, across Lyon's creek, and encamped for the night, with picket guards stationed at proper distances. One of these commanded by Lieutenant Gassaway, and stationed on the Chippewa road, was attacked by two companies of the Glengary light infantry, which were beaten off with loss.

On the following morning the brigade was attacked by a force of twelve hundred men, under Colonel the Marquis of Tweedale. Captain Dorman's infantry, and Irvine's riflemen, received the first fire of the enemy, and sustained it with the greatest gallantry, whilst General Bissell was forming and bringing up the other troops to their support. Colonel Pinckney, with the 5th regiment, was ordered to turn the enemy's right flank, and to cut off a piece of artillery which he had just then brought into action, whilst Major Barnard, with the 14th, was to charge them in front. These movements were instantly effected. The enemy's left flank and his centre sunk under the fire of *corps d' elite*, and the riflemen, and the charge of the 14th; and his right flank was turned immediately after by the rapid and forcible movement of the 5th. The recoil of his line, and the approach of the American reserve, composed of the 15th, under Major Grindage, and the 16th, under Colonel Pearce, to enforce the success of the main body, was no sooner perceived by the marquis, than he ordered his troops to retire from the ground on which they had engaged General Bissell; and, expecting to draw that officer after him, fell back to his fortifications at the mouth of the river. As his retreat was made without much regard to order, all his killed, and most of his wounded, were left behind. He was pursued but a small distance, when General Bissell, in conformity to his instructions, destroyed the provisions at the mills, and returned to his position at Black creek, having effected the

object of his expedition, with the loss of sixty-seven killed, wounded, and missing.

The whole army, with the exception of Lieutenant-Colonel Hindman's artillery, to whom the command of Fort Erie, and the works was intrusted, was now operating in the vicinity of Black creek and Chippewa. Its staff had been reduced by the removal of General Ripley to the American shore after being wounded, and the transfer of General Brown to Sackett's Harbour, and of General Miller to Boston. Immediately after the repulse of the Marquis of Tweedale, General Izard directed its return to the garrison, whence, as the weather was about this time setting in extremely cold, and the season having arrived when hostilities usually ceased, it was determined to transport it to the American shore, to supply the troops with more comfortable winter quarters. The fort was accordingly destroyed, and all the batteries demolished, and after a vigorous and brilliant campaign of four months, the Canadian territory was evacuated, and the army distributed in quarters at Buffalo, Black Rock, and Batavia. The volunteers and militia were discharged with the thanks of the government, and General Porter received various testimonies of approbation and applause from the state to which he belonged, for his constant display of bravery, and the high degree of discipline which he maintained in his command.



WHILST these events were transpiring between the American army, and the armies of Lieutenant-General Drummond and Sir George Prevost, an expedition had been fitted out in the north-western country, under the united command of Commodore Sinclair, with the fleet upon Lake Erie, and Lieutenant-Colonel Croghan, with a detachment of artillery and infantry, to act against the fort and island of Michilimackinac. But the expedition failed, notwithstanding the skill and gallantry of the officers engaged in it; and the troops retired from th having effected a landing, with the loss
r Holmes of the 32d infantry. The

enemy, apprized of the movement, appeared in large numbers to resist it, and being protected by breastworks, and aided by a body of Indians, exceeding the strength of Colonel Croghan's detachment, that intrepid young officer was compelled to withdraw his forces, and return to the shipping. On his way to the island, however, he destroyed the Fort St. Joseph's, and the enemy's establishment at Sault St. Mary's. The loss of the detachment in the expedition amounted to sixty-six killed, wounded, and missing.

After leaving the island, Commodore Sinclair stationed two of his schooners, the Tigress and Scorpion, near St. Joseph's, to cut off all supplies for the British garrison at Michilimackinac. Lieutenant-Colonel McDowell, the commandant of that garrison, supplied Lieutenant Worsley, of the navy, with two hundred and fifty Indians, and a detachment of the Newfoundland regiment, with whom, and one hundred and fifty sailors, he attacked the schooners on the 9th of September. After a severe struggle, in which he lost a very disproportionate number of killed and wounded, he carried the vessels, and proceeded with them to Michilimackinac.

On the 22d of the following month, Brigadier-General McArthur, having collected seven hundred and twenty effective regulars and militia, proceeded on a secret expedition along the western shore of Lake St. Clair, and passed into the Canadian territory, at the mouth of that water. He penetrated two hundred miles in the enemy's country, destroyed more than that number of muskets, attacked a large body of militia and Indians, encamped on favourable ground, made about one hundred and fifty prisoners, and dispersed all the detachments to be found at the Thames, Oxford, or Grand river. During the march he principally subsisted on the enemy, and fired several of the mills, from which the British troops in Upper Canada were supplied with food. Having gained intelligence of the evacuation of Fort Erie, he abandoned his intention of proceeding to Burlington Heights, and returned to Detroit on the 17th of November. By this rapid expedition, the enemy's hostile intentions were diverted from another quarter, and his means of attacking Detroit entirely crippled; the destruction of his suplies rendering such an attempt altogether impracticable.



General Jackson.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Creek War.



IN the long period which elapsed between the Revolution and the war of 1812, British agents were actively engaged in fomenting disturbances between the southern and western Indians, and the United States. Their most indefatigable ally was Tecumseh. He passed from station to station, harangued all the tribes on our borders, enumerated the wrongs they had sustained from the whites, and painted, in glowing colours, the advantages to be derived from an alliance with Great Britain. Most of the north-western Indians entered into his views and purposes, but in the south his intrigues were attended with but very partial success. The Choctaws, [illegible]s, and Chickasaws, remained friendly to our country

throughout the war; and only a few of the most abandoned and vicious of the Creeks could be induced, at an early period, to take up the tomahawk against us.

In the Spring of 1812, a party of five Creeks massacred two families on the frontier settlements of the Tennessee river, and made their escape. Some other enormities were committed about the same time, and the hostility of the Indians soon became so decided, that the legislature of Tennessee passed an act for the organization of a large body of volunteers and militia. Hostilities, however, did not at that time ensue. The Creeks held a convention, in which they resolved to punish those who had committed aggressions, and declared their desire to remain friendly to the United States. Several of the murderers were executed, and addresses of the most pacific kind tendered to Colonel Hawkins, United States ambassador to their nation.

About this time an expedition was commenced by Colonel Newman of Georgia, against the Seminole Indians, who were not considered by the Creeks as part of their nation. The enterprise was successful, the enemy being defeated in several skirmishes, with the loss of nearly fifty warriors.

The smallness of the party engaged in this expedition, unfitted it for doing any thing decisive; and in autumn another was fitted out, consisting of fifteen hundred militia infantry, and six hundred mounted volunteers. They marched from West Tennessee, for the defense of the lower country, the foot troops descending the river in boats, under the command of Major-General Andrew Jackson, whilst the mounted men, under Colonel Coffee, marched by land to Natchez, where both parties arrived and formed a junction in February, 1813. In the following month they were ordered home, and the whole expedition proved a failure.

Meanwhile another detachment of Tennessee volunteers, under Colonel Williams, marched towards the frontiers of Georgia. After reaching the St. Mary's river, and receiving a reinforcement under Colonel Smith, they commenced an expedition against the Seminoles. Three battles were fought, in which the Indians were defeated with the loss of thirty-eight warriors killed, and a still larger number in wounded and pri-

soners. Their houses were burnt, all their corn detroyed, and about four hundred horses, with an equal quantity of cattle, carried away. The detachment remained in the country, until they had destroyed all property, and utterly exterminated the Indians.

The intrigues of Tecumseh and his brother, the prophet, still continued among the Creeks, and had a powerful effect with their younger warriors. But those chiefs who had been the most active in procuring the punishment of the renegadoes in 1812, were at the head of the party which was for peace in the nation, and friendship with the United States. In conjunction with these chiefs, Colonel Hawkins made strenuous but vain efforts to preserve peace. The greater part of their tribes had accepted the offers of Great Britain, their passions were roused against the Americans, and nothing but war could now satiate them. Dissensions ensued among the Creeks themselves, until the friendly party, which was much the weakest, implored the Americans to protect them, and subdue their opponents.

Before the Americans had time to respond to these calls, the storm burst upon the southern settlements. About the 20th of August, 1813, some Choctaw Indians reported that three parties of Creeks were about making an attack on Fort Mimms, in the Tensaw settlement, on the east side of the Alabama, opposite Fort Stoddart, on the forts situated on the forks between the Tombigbee and Alabama, and on those situated more immediately on the Tombigbee. Fort Mimms, the principal object of attack, contained about four hundred people, including one hundred and thirty militia, together with a large amount of supplies and property. Unfortunately the hostilities of the Creeks had been so long anticipated, that the intelligence brought by the friendly Indians was disregarded, and by some disbelieved. With a negligence and culpability rarely equalled in the annals of border difficulties, the commandant remained entirely indifferent to repeated warnings, and subsequently brought destruction upon himself and the garrison.

On the morning of the attack, a large party of the enemy had approached through an open field, to within thirty paces of the gate, before they were discovered. A sentinel then gave the

alarm, but before the gate, which was wide open, could be closed, the Indians raised the war-whoop, and rushed through. Major Bearsley was immediately shot through the body. The fort was defended by a double breastwork, so that, although the Indians had entered the gate, they still found another wall before them. This protracted the conflict for several hours. The savages fired from their positions upon the inner fort, whilst the garrison kept the port-holes, and maintained a fierce conflict with the Indians. At last the enemy succeeded in firing a block-house, which stood near the pickets, and from that the flames were communicated to the other buildings. Despair now seized the stoutest hearts; destruction by fire or the tomahawk was inevitable; and the screams of women, the agonizing cry of men, the crackling and tossing of flames, and the yells of Indians, were terrible. As their only chance of life, the garrison banded together, and rushed through the ranks of the enemy. Man after man fell beneath the tomahawk until but about twenty escaped. Then the savages, like an army of demons, poured over the walls upon the weak and helpless. Children were dashed against the ground, and women scalped and murdered. The remainder took refuge in the principal dwelling-house. This was fired, and the dying wail of the mother and infant, the friend and relation, rose up with the roarings of the conflagration. Little by little, that awful sound grew weaker, then all was still. Three hundred and fifty persons had been hurried into eternity in a few hours, while their mangled bodies were strewed around, still throbbing with the remnants of life, or blackened and crusted by fire.

Meanwhile preparations for marching into the Creek country were actively proceeding in Georgia and Tennessee. About the middle of September, more than three thousand militia, under General Floyd, entered the Creek country from the former state; and soon after a still larger army arrived from Tennessee, in two divisions, one commanded by Major-General John Cocke, the other by General Jackson. The legislature of Tennessee also passed a law authorizing the governor to detach a corps of thirty-five hundred men to the scene of action; and under the authority of the Mississippi territory, fifteen hundred men under



The Prophet, (Brother of Tecumseh.)

Brigadier-General Flourney were collected at Fort Stoddart. The Choctaw Indians also declared war against the Creeks, and tendered their services to co-operate with the Americans in the ensuing campaign.

Early in November, General Jackson had arrived, and encamped with his army at a place called the Ten Islands, on the Coosa river. From this place he despatched General Coffee with nine hundred men to destroy the Tallushatchee towns, about eight miles distant, where he had been informed that there was a body of hostile Creeks. On the 3d, the general arrived within two miles of the principal town, where he divided his command into two columns, the cavalry on the right, under Colonel Allcorn, and Colonel Cannon with his mounted riflemen on the left. The former were ordered to cross a creek in their front, and marching upon the right of the town, encircle it on that side; while the latter were to perform a similar movement on the left, until the two columns joined from opposite sides of the town, which would thus be completely inclosed. This plan was correctly executed, and the troops succeeded in gaining their positions without suffering any loss. Captain Hammond was then sent toward the town to draw the Indians if possible from their

shelter. This stratagem had the desired effect. As soon as the captain had shown his detachment, and given the savages a distant fire, they rushed out against him in a furious manner. He then gradually retreated, drawing the enemy after him until they came within range of the right column, when they were charged and driven back. For the first time, the Indians now perceived the trap which had been laid for them,—that they were completely surrounded with overpowering numbers, and cut off from all possibility of retreat. "They made all the resistance," says General Coffee, "that an overpowered soldier could do,—they fought as long as one existed—but their destruction was very soon completed. Our men rushed up to the doors of their houses and in a few minutes killed the last warrior. The Indians met death with all its horrors, without shrinking—not one asked to be spared, but fought as long as they could stand or sit. In consequence of their flying to their houses, and mixing with their families, our men in killing the males, without intention killed and wounded a few of the squaws and children, which was regretted by every officer and soldier of the detachment, but which could not be avoided."

The Indian force in this battle, amounting to about two hundred, were utterly annihilated—not one escaping to report the news of so signal a defeat. About eighty-four squaws and children were taken prisoners, many of them wounded. The Americans lost five killed, and forty-one wounded.

On the 7th of November, a friendly Indian informed General Jackson, that a large number of hostile Creeks were encamped near Talladega, which was hourly waiting an attack. This place was thirty miles from the general's position, and yet he set out that night, and arrived before the following morning within six miles of the fort. At sunrise he was within half a mile of the enemy's encampment, and proceeded to form the order of battle. The infantry were disposed in three lines, having the militia on the left and the volunteers on the right. The cavalry, forming the extreme wings, were thrown forward in a curve, with instructions to keep the rear of their columns connected with the flanks of their infantry, so as to encircle and destroy the whole force of the enemy.



IN this order the main body advanced slowly toward the Indians, while the advance pushed forward and engaged them. Believing the attacking force to be the entire army, the savages charged them with fury, and continued a pursuit, until they were drawn within range of the advancing force. At this time, a few companies of militia were struck with fear, and commenced a disorderly retreat. The action then commenced along the whole line, and for some time was maintained with great spirit. But the disproportion of force was too great, and the fire of the Americans too heavy, to afford the Indians any chance of success. They were compelled to retreat, and were chased with great animation for more than three miles. After the action, two hundred and ninety dead Indians were found upon the ground, and many more had been carried away by the survivors. Jackson's loss was fifteen killed, and about the same number wounded.

Three days after this affair, November 11th, General Cocke despatched Brigadier-General White with a considerable force, against the Hillabee settlements. He was obliged to march one hundred miles through a very rough country, part of which had till recently been in full possession of the enemy. On the route he burned two of their towns, and captured a third. Having arrived within six miles of the Hillabee towns, November 17th, where the Indians were stationed, he halted, arranged his order of battle, and despatched a body of troops with instructions to surround the town before day, and attack it at early dawn. The darkness of the night prevented their arrival before daylight, yet so completely were the Creeks surprised, that every warrior was killed or captured, without having time to offer the least resistance. About sixty were killed, and two hundred and fifty men, women, and children captured. General White arrived with the mounted reserve in time to have decided or improved the victory, had the resistance or flight of the enemy rendered his cooperation necessary.

About ten days after this battle a fourth victory was obtained over the Creeks by the Georgia troops, under General Floyd.

This officer marched against the town of Autossee, on the Tallapoosa, with about nine hundred and fifty militia, and four hundred friendly Indians. His plan was completely to surround the town, cut off all retreat from the river, and thus compel the garrison to surrender. The difficulty of crossing the Tallapoosa disconcerted part of this plan, and it was soon ascertained that beside the fort, which formed the original object of attack, the Indians possessed another, about five hundred yards down the river. Part of the troops were detached against this lower town, while the friendly Indians were sent over the creek to prevent a retreat up the river. A vigorous attack then commenced against the upper town, and a contest ensued which was characterized by that fierce obstinacy ever shown by the red man when fighting an enemy from a sheltered position. By nine o'clock, however, both forts were carried, the enemy driven from them in all directions, and the buildings set on fire.



THE loss of the enemy in this action, though never correctly ascertained, was believed to have reached two hundred. The Americans had eleven killed, and fifty-four wounded, among the latter General Floyd severely, and his adjutant-general, Newman, slightly.

As there were many other populous towns in this vicinity, which could send into the field a large number of warriors, General Floyd considered it inexpedient to pursue his victory, and accordingly retired to his former position on the Chatahoochee.

In December, General Claiborne, with a force of regulars, militia, volunteers, and Choctaw Indians, marched up the Alabama river, to a new fort constructed by Weatherford, who had led the massacre at Fort Mimms. Apprized of his approach, the enemy secreted their squaws and children on the opposite side of the river, and prepared for battle. As the Americans advanced, they were attacked on the left column, composed of volunteers, but after a spirited struggle, succeeded in driving off their assailants, who fled through thick swamps toward the river

The army then entered the town, stripped it of every thing valuable, and set the houses on fire. Thirty dead Indians were found on the field; the Americans lost one killed and six wounded.

About a month after this battle, January 27th, 1814, a large party of warriors attacked General Floyd at his encampment, near the Chatahoochee. The Indians assaulted the camp with so much fury, that in a few minutes they were within thirty paces of the artillery. But after the battle had become general, their efforts grew desultory and ineffectual. The artillery and rifle companies played upon them with great effect, and at daylight a charge with the bayonet drove them back in utter confusion. General Floyd lost seventeen killed, and one hundred and thirty two wounded; the Indians left thirty-seven bodies upon the field, and a large number of their wounded escaped.

On the 17th of January, General Jackson broke up his camp near Ten Islands, and, with a force of nearly twelve hundred men, marched toward the Creek country. Next day he received a reinforcement of three hundred Indians, and on the 21st, was near the junction of the Tallapoosa and Emuckfau creek, where about nine hundred of the enemy were concentrated. Here he formed his army into a hollow square, and spent the night in reconnoitering the Indian position.



JUST at six o'clock on the following morning, the savages commenced a vigorous attack on the American left flank, and maintained the assault until daylight. They were charged by General Coffee and Colonels Carroll and Higgins, completely routed at every point, and chased about two miles, with great slaughter. General Coffee was then detached to destroy their encampment; but while preparing to do so, the right and left of the army were again assaulted, and the battle recommenced. A vigorous charge, conducted by Colonels Carroll and Higgins, repulsed the Indians with loss, and confirmed [illegible]tory.

Instead of pursuing [illegible] his march into

the Indian country, General Jackson set out on the following day for his former camp. In crossing the Enotichopco creek, an alarm gun gave notice of danger, and soon after an attack began from a party of concealed Indians. Colonel Carroll was at the head of the centre column of the rear guard, its right column was commanded by Colonel Perkins, and its left by Colonel Stump. Having selected the ground on which he was attacked, Jackson determined to cross the creek above and below with his flank columns, fall upon the side and rear of the enemy, and cut them to pieces. This plan was disconcerted by the American rear guard, who, when fired upon, fled precipitately into the centre of the army, carrying consternation and confusion into the flank columns, and leaving but twenty-five men with Colonel Carroll, to arrest the progress of the pursuers. Although this ill-timed retreat threw the main army into confusion, yet Colonel Carroll with his handful of men, maintained his post as long as it was possible to resist overwhelming numbers; and being then joined by Lieutenant Armstrong with the artillery, and Captain Russell, he still continued the contest with success. The artillery was then opened upon the enemy, followed by a vigorous charge, which broke their line, and drove them from the field in confusion. The general then pursued his way without further molestation. The loss of the Americans during the whole expedition was twenty-four killed and seventy-one wounded.

Soon after this battle, General Jackson received a reinforcement of two militia brigades, under Generals Dougherty and Johnson, a regiment of regulars, under Colonel Williams, and several smaller corps. This accession to his force enabled General Jackson to recommence effective operations, and accordingly on the 27th of March, we find him at the Horseshoe bend of the Tallapoosa. Here the Indians were intrenched in large numbers. The situation is remarkably strong by nature, and the Creeks had fortified it with a degree of skill and efficiency rarely evinced by the untutored red man. Across the neck of the bend, where it opens toward the north, they had erected a breastwork of logs from five to eight feet high, possessing great compactness and strength, and extending on both

sides to the river. Through this were cut two ranges of port-holes, suitable for the exercise of small arms. The direction of the wall was such that an army could not approach it without being exposed to a cross fire from the enemy lying in safety behind it. The inclosure contained about eighty acres of ground, and in the furthest extremity of the bend was a village of moderate size. From the breastwork on the neck a ridge of high land extended about half way to the village, the summit of which was comparatively open ground; but on its sides, and on the flat ground along the margin of the river, there had been a heavy forest, the large trees of which were now filled in such a manner, that every one formed a breastwork from which the Indians could in safety assail our troops while crossing the river. Within this fortification, the enemy had collected all their warriors from six towns on the Tallapoosa, numbering in all about one thousand. Among them were several of the greatest prophets and chiefs in the nation, and the principal instigators of the war.



RELYING on the strength of their position, their large force, and the prophetic assurance of success which their fanatic leaders had given them, they entertained no doubt of repulsing our army with the utmost ease. On the other hand, the strength of General Jackson's army, and the spirit which animated his men, inspired him with confidence, that he would be able to give them a signal defeat.

The attack upon the breastwork commenced about ten o'clock, A. M., by General Coffee, while at the same time a party were detached against the village within the bend. The battle raged for two hours, without much execution on either side, when General Jackson determined to storm the fortification. Led on by Colonel Williams and Major Montgomery, the regular troops were soon in possession of the outside of the breastwork, when they were joined by the militia. For a few minutes an obstinate struggle was maintained at the port-holes, which our troops mounted over the breastwork and took



Weatherford.

possession of the opposite works. This decided the contest. A dreadful slaughter of the enemy ensued in every direction. Each warrior defended himself with that bravery which desperation inspires; but overpowered by numbers, and surrounded on every side, they sunk down rapidly beneath the superior discipline of their opponents. Of those who attempted to cross the river, "not one escaped; very few ever reached the bank, and those few were killed the instant they landed."

On that disastrous day, less than one hundred of the enemy were able to effect their escape. Five hundred and fifty-seven dead bodies were counted, and at least two hundred and fifty were thrown into the river during the action. Three hundred women and children, with a few warriors were taken prisoners. The total loss of the Americans was forty-nine killed, and one hundred and fifty-four wounded. Among the former was Major Montgomery, an able and gallant officer, whose death was much lamented.

This battle effectually subdued the hostile Creeks, and convinced them of the utter futility of a further continuation of the war. Weatherford, and several other chiefs, delivered themselves to General Jackson, supplicating peace on any terms which the United States might please to grant. The general retired to the Coosa river, and was soon after permitted to

return home with his troops, leaving small garrisons on the river forts.

During the time while these operations were going on, some companies of Carolina militia, under General Pinckney, had entered the Creek country, to support the United States envoy, Mr. Hawkins, while negotiating for peace. The terms offered to the Indians were, that our government should retain as much of the conquered territory as would be a just indemnity for the expenses of the war, and for the injuries and losses sustained by our citizens and the friendly Creeks; that it would reserve the right of establishing such military posts, trading-houses, and roads in their country, as might be deemed necessary, together with the right of navigating all their waters; and that on their part they must surrender their prophets and other instigators of the war, and submit to such restrictions on their trade with foreign nations as our government might dictate.

Thus within seven months after the massacre at Fort Mimms, which may be considered as the commencement of the Creek war, the Indians were completely subdued, and their power broken for ever.





Bladensburg.

CHAPTER XXII.

Capture of Washington.---Defense of New Orleans.



THE movements of the British blockading squadrons, on the eastern coast, during the summer of 1814, have already been traced to the occupation of Eastport and Castine, in the beginning of September. In their operations along the shores of the Chesapeake bay, and the southern coast, they have not been followed beyond their attack upon Hampton and Ocracock, in the month of June. At that period, a flotilla, consisting of a cutter, two gun-boats, a galley, and nine large barges, sailed from Baltimore, under Commodore Barney, for the protection of the inlets and harbours in the several parts of the bay. On the 1st of June, being at the mouth of the Patuxent, the commodore discovered two schooners, one of which carried eighteen guns, and immediately gave chase. The

schooners were joined, however, by a large ship, which despatched numbers of barges to their assistance, and the commodore in danger of being cut off from the Potomac, signaled his flotilla to sail up the Patuxent. In that river, he engaged the schooners and the barges, and after beating them off with hot shot, he anchored within three miles of a seventy-four, stationed at its mouth. In the course of a few days the enemy was reinforced by a razee and a sloop of war, and joining the barges of these vessels to those with which they had already engaged Commodore Barney, they followed his flotilla into St. Leonard's creek, two miles above the mouth of which his gun-boats and barges were formed in line of battle, across the channel. From this point the commodore engaged them, and seeing a disposition to fall back, he immediately bore down, put them to flight, and pursued them to within a short distance of their shipping, which consisted of a ship, a brig, and two schooners. In the afternoon of the 10th, the enemy made another attempt upon the flotilla, with twenty barges, and the two schooners. The commodore immediately moved upon them, and after a smart fire, drove the barges down to the eighteen gun vessel, which in attempting to beat out, was so severely handled that her crew ran her aground and abandoned her.

These attempts upon the flotilla were constantly repeated, and its blockade in St. Leonard's continued until the 26th, on the morning of which day, a combined attack of a corps of artillery, which had been despatched from Washington to its assistance, a detachment of the marine corps, and the flotilla itself, was made upon the whole squadron, among which were two frigates. The action continued upwards of two hours, and terminated in driving the enemy from his anchorage. His ships stood down the river, and Commodore Barney finding the blockade raised, sailed out of St. Leonard's, and proceeded up the Patuxent.

The British squadron at the different stations in the Chesapeake, were now every day augmented, by arrivals of transports and ships of the line from England. The cessation of hostilities, which had taken place in Europe, enabled the British government to send out powerful reinforcements to their fleets

and armies already on the coast, and Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane had been despatched with upwards of thirty sail, having on board an army of several thousand men, under Major-General Ross. This force entered the Chesapeake in the course of the summer, and between the land and naval commanders, a plan of attack upon Washington, Alexandria, and Baltimore, was soon after adopted. A few weeks before the repulse of Sir George Prevost at Plattsburg, Admiral Cochrane notified the secretary of state, of his having been called upon by the governor-general, to lay waste and destroy all such towns and districts upon the coast as might be found assailable, and that he had in consequence issued his orders to that effect to all the naval commanders upon the station.



IF this despatch was forwarded with the honourable intent of apprizing the American government of the contemplated attack upon the capital, the object was either wilfully, or through negligence, defeated. For previously to the receipt of this notice at the department of state, the enemy was already ascending, in two divisions of his fleet, the Patuxent and the Potomac. In the first of these rivers, his force amounted to twenty-seven square rigged vessels, all of which proceeded to Benedict, the head of frigate navigation, and landed about six thousand regulars, seamen, and marines.

Commodore Barney, in obedience to the orders which he had received to that effect, blew up and abandoned his flotilla upon the approach of so powerful a force, and retreated to Nottingham, on the 22d of August, where, with his seamen and marines, he joined the United States army, under Brigadier-General Winder. The enemy approached the Wood Yard, a position twelve miles only from the city, and at which General Winder's forces were drawn up. These consisted of about five thousand men, two thousand five hundred of whom were from Baltimore, and offered battle to the British troops. But General Ross, upon

reaching the neighbourhood of Nottingham, turned to his right and took the road to Marlborough, upon which General Winder fell back to Battalion Old Fields, about eight miles from the city.

The positions now occupied by the two armies were distant from each other about seven miles; and General Winder desiring to know in what manner they had encamped, rode with a small escort to Marlborough, and learned, from several prisoners who were taken, that the British general intended to remain there until the following day. About noon of the 23d, General Ross put his troops in motion, having been previously joined by Admiral Cockburn, and was met by the American advanced corps, under Lieutenant-Colonel Scott and Major Peter, who, after exchanging several rounds, fell back upon the main army. Early on the 24th, the enemy's column resumed its march, and reached Bladensburg, about six miles from Washington, without loss. At Bladensburg, General Stansbury had taken an advantageous position, and by the greatest exertion General Winder was enabled to interpose his whole force before the enemy, including Commodore Barney's flotilla men and marines.

At one, P. M., the action commenced. The Baltimore artillery, under Captain Myers and Macgruder, supported by Major Pinkney's riflemen, were stationed in advance, to command the pass of the bridge, and dealt out a very destructive fire. But the British column advanced upon them in such superior force, that they were obliged to retire. Upon seeing this, the right and centre of General Stansbury's brigade, immediately gave way, and in a few minutes he was deserted by his whole command, except about forty men of Colonel Ragan's regiment, and Captain Shower's company. The 5th Baltimore regiment, under Colonel Sterret, stationed on the left of General Stansbury's brigade, maintained its ground, until, lest it should be outflanked, an order was given for its retreat. The reserve, under Brigadier-General Smith, of the District of Columbia, with Commodore Barney and Lieutenant-Colonel Beall on their right, still remained upon the hill, and continued the contest after the flight of the Maryland brigade.

As the militia retired, the British regulars advanced upon the main road, and coming immediately in front of Commodore Barney's flotilla, he opened an eighteen-pounder upon them, which cleared the road, and for a time disordered their column, and retarded their approach. Two other attempts made by the enemy to pass the battery were also repulsed, and General Ross marched a division of his troops into an open field, with a deter mination to flank the commodore's right. This attempt also was frustrated by Captain Miller, of the marines, with three twelve-pounders, and the men of the flotilla acting as infantry. After being thus kept in check about half an hour, General Ross began to outflank the right of the battery, in large numbers; and pushed about three hundred men upon General Smith's brigade, which, after exchanging a shot or two, fled as precipitately as the brigade of General Stansbury. In the panic produced by this disorderly retreat, the drivers of the ammunition wagons fled also, and Commodore Barney's small command was left to contend against the whole force of the enemy, with less than one complete round of cartridge. To add to the general misfortune, and to increase the difficulties even of retiring with credit, he had received a severe wound in his thigh, and his horse had been killed under him—two of his principal officers were killed, and Captain Miller and Sailingmaster Martin wounded. The places of these could be promptly supplied from the men acting as infantry, but the means of repulsing the enemy were expended, and the British infantry and marines by this time completely in the rear of the battery. Thus situated, the commodore gave orders for a retreat, and after being carried a short distance from the scene of his gallantry, he fell exhausted by the loss of blood, and was soon after made prisoner by General Ross and Admiral Cockburn, who put him on his parole, and having first removed him to their hospital in Bladensburg, ordered the immediate attendance of their surgeons to dress his wound.

Having thus obtained possession of the pass of the bridge, over the eastern branch of the Potomac, the enemy marched directly upon the capital, and immediately proceeded to the destruction of all the spacious and splendid edifices by which it was adorned. The senate house, the representative hall, the



Commodore Barney.

supreme court room, the president's house, with all its exterior and interior decorations, and the buildings containing the public departments, were very soon demolished, and several private houses burned to the ground. The plunder of individual property was prohibited, however, and soldiers transgressing the order were severely punished. The principal vengeance of Admiral Cockburn, on whom, if the safety of the citizens' dwellings had alone depended, if he is to be judged by his former conduct, they would have rested on a slender guarantee, was directed against the printing-office of the editor of a newspaper, from whose press had been issued frequent accounts of the admiral's depredations along the coast.

The navy-yard, as well as a new first rate frigate, and a sloop of war, were destroyed by order of government, upon the approach of the enemy, to prevent the immense public stores, munitions, and armaments deposited there, from falling into his hands. The patent office alone, in which were collected the rarest specimens of the arts of the country, escaped the insatiable vengeance of a foe, whose destroying arm was directed against the most superb monuments of architectural skill and public munificence. The public documents and official records, the flags and various other trophies of the repeated triumphs of the American arms, and the specie from all the banks in the district, had previously been placed beyond the reach of the cupidity of the invaders, and they returned from an irruption which excited the indignation of all parties in the Union, and drew forth the deprecations of the principal nations in Europe.

The president and the heads of departments, all of whom had visited the rendezvous of the troops at Bladensburg the day before the battle, finding that the force which had been hastily assembled, did not amount to the number called for by the requisitions upon the adjacent states, returned to the metropolis to make arrangements for the augmentation of General Winder's army. This duty, which, in times of less danger, required the exercise of great energy, could not be performed before the enemy had encountered and defeated the corps already collected. The capture of these officers would have caused at least a temporary derangement of the government, and in order that its functions might be resumed immediately after the departure of the enemy, they retired from the metropolis upon his approach General Winder had also withdrawn with the remnant of his force to Montgomery courthouse; the citizens were incapable of opposing the hostile operations of the British commanders; and the capital was therefore entirely at their mercy.

That division of the enemy's fleet which ascended the Potomac, consisting of eight sail, upon which were mounted one hundred and seventy-three guns, and commanded by Captain Gordon, was directed to attack the city of Alexandria. As they approached up the river, the commander of Fort Warburton, Captain Dyson, destroyed that garrison, and retired with his

artillerists, and the British squadron passed up to the city without annoyance or impediment. The people of Alexandria surrendered their town, and obtained a stipulation on the 29th of August, from the British commander, that their dwellings should not be entered or destroyed. The condition upon which this stipulation was made, required the immediate delivery to the enemy, of all public and private naval and ordnance stores; of all the shipping, and the furniture necessary to their equipment, then in port; of all the merchandise of every description, whether in the town, or removed from it since the 19th of the month; that such merchandise should be put on board the shipping at the expense of the owners; and that all vessels which might have been sunk upon the approach of the enemy, should be raised by the merchants and delivered up, with all their apparatus. These hard and ungenerous conditions were complied with, and on the 6th of September, Captain Gordon moved off with a fleet of prize vessels, which, as well as his frigates and other vessels of war, contained cargoes of booty. In descending the river he was warmly opposed, and received considerable damage from two batteries, at the White House, and at Indian Head, under the respective commands of Captains Porter and Perry, of the navy —the former assisted by General Hungerford's brigade of Virginia militia infantry, and Captain Humphrey's company of riflemen, from Jefferson county; and the latter by the brigade of General Stewart, and the volunteer companies of Major Peter and Captain Birch. The batteries, however, not being completed, and mounting but a few light pieces, could not prevent the departure of the enemy with his immense booty, though they kept up an incessant fire, from the 3d until the 6th of the month, upon the vessels passing down on each of those days. Commodore Rodgers, too, aided by Lieutenant Newcombe and Sailingmaster Ramage, made frequent attempts to destroy the enemy's shipping, by approaching him within the range of musket shot, with several small fire vessels. After the communication of the fire, a change of wind prevented these vessels from getting in between the British frigates, though they excited much alarm among the fleet, whose men were actively employed in extinguishing the flames. These respective forces were

afterwards concentrated, and Commodore Rodgers took possession of Alexandria, with a determination to defend it, notwithstanding its surrender, against another attempt of the enemy, whose fleet was not yet out of sight from the nearest battery.

After the embarkation of the troops under General Ross, whose loss at Bladensburg nearly amounted to one thousand men, in killed, wounded, prisoners, deserters, and those who died of fatigue, Admiral Cochrane concentrated the various detachments of his fleet, and made preparations for an attack upon the city of Baltimore.

Despatch vessels were forwarded to all parts of the bay, to call together the frigates stationed near the different shores, and among others the Menelaus, commanded by Sir Peter Parker, and then lying in the neighbourhood of Moor's fields. That officer determined on an expedition against a detachment of Maryland volunteers, encamped, under Colonel Read, at those fields, before he obeyed the call of the admiral; and for that purpose landed with two hundred and thirty men, and made a detour to surprise and cut it off. The detachment consisted of one hundred and seventy men; and its commander being apprized of the enemy's motions, was fully prepared to receive him. Sir Peter advanced to a charge, and being repulsed, opened a fire within pistol-shot, which continued nearly an hour. At the end of that time his force was driven back, with a loss of seventeen carried off, and thirteen killed and three wounded left upon the ground. Among the wounded was Sir Peter, who died immediately after being put on board the Menelaus. Colonel Read had three men slightly wounded. The Menelaus joined the fleet upon the following day, and sailed with it to the mouth of the Patapsco on the 10th of September.

The fleet consisted of nearly forty sail, and the heaviest vessels, ships of the line, anchored across the channel, and commenced the debarkation of the troops, intended for the land attack upon North Point, twelve miles distant from the city. By the morning of the 12th, about eight thousand soldiers, sailors, and marines were in readiness to march upon the town, and sixteen bomb vessels and frigates proceeded up the river, and anchored within two miles and a half of Fort McHenry.



Fort McHenry.



THIS garrison, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel G. Armistead, of the United States artillery; a battery at the lazaretto, commanded by Lieutenant Rutter, of the flotilla; a small work called Fort Covington, by Lieutenant Newcome, of the Guerriere; a six gun battery, erected near it, by Lieutenant Webster, of the flotilla; and lines of intrenchments and breastworks hastily thrown up by the people of Baltimore, were relied on for the defense and protection of the city.

At the forts and batteries, one thousand men were stationed; along the breastworks, about four times that number—and all under command of Major-General Samuel Smith, assisted by Brigadier-General Winder, of the United States army, and Brigadier-General Stricker, of the Baltimore brigade.

In anticipation of the enemy's intention to land at North Point, and to meet and repulse his light parties, or to engage his whole force at a distance from the main works, General Stricker was despatched with part of his brigade, and a light corps of riflemen and infantry, from General Stansbury's brigade, under Major Randal, and several companies of the Pennsylvania volunteers. On the evening of the 11th, this detachment, amounting to three thousand one hundred and eighty-five effective men, reached the meeting-house, near the head of Bear creek, when the volunteer cavalry, under Colonel Biays, were sent three miles, and Captain Dyer's riflemen two miles, in advance. Early on the following morning, Captain Montgomery, with the artillery, Lieutenant-Colonel Sterret, with the 5th, and Lieutenant-Colonel Long, with the 27th regiments, were sent some distance forward. The artillery was planted in the middle of the North Point road, and supported on each flank by the two infantry regiments The 51st regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Ar[illegible] tioned a few hundred yards in the rear of the

under Lieutenant-Colonel Fowler, in the rear of the 27th; and the 6th under Lieutenant-Colonel McDonald, drawn up as a reserve, half a mile in the rear of the whole.

The riflemen were ordered to skirt a low wood, with a large sedge field in its front, under cover of which, as the cavalry fell back, to apprize General Stricker of the approach of the enemy. they were to annoy the British advance, and retire in good order upon the main body of the troops. Soon after these dispositions had been made, the cavalry came in with the intelligence that the enemy's light corps were rapidly advancing along the road, and at the moment when it was expected they would be engaged by the riflemen, that body was seen falling back without having opposed them, under a presumption that the enemy had landed at Back river, in order to cut off their retreat. The general immediately pushed forward two companies from the 5th infantry, one hundred and fifty in number, under Captains Levering and Howard, and commanded by Major Heath of that regiment; about seventy riflemen, under Captain Aisquith; the cavalry, and ten artillerists, with a four-pounder, commanded by Lieutenant Stiles. This detachment having proceeded half a mile, was met by and instantly engaged the enemy's main body.

The situation of the ground, would not admit of the co-operation of the artillery and cavalry; and the infantry and riflemen sustained the whole action with great gallantry, pouring in a rapid and effective fire upon the British column, killing Major-General Ross, and several other officers, and impeding the advance of the British army. Having performed the duty required of them by General Stricker, the whole detachment, with a trifling loss, fell back in excellent order upon the American line. The enemy then moved forward, under Colonel Brooke, upon whom the command had devolved, and at half past two began to throw his rockets upon the left flank of the militia brigade. Captain Montgomery immediately opened his artillery upon him, and the British played upon the left and centre with their six-pounders and a howitzer.

The cannonade continued with great vivacity, until General Stricker ordered the firing to cease, so as to draw the enemy within the range of grape and canister. Colonel Brook-

covered his whole front with the British light brigade, directed the 4th regiment, by a detour, to gain a lodgment close upon the American left; and formed a line along General Stricker's front, with the 41st regiment, the marines of the fleet, and a detachment of seamen; and placed the 21st regiment, the 2d battalion of marines, and another detachment of seamen, in columns on the main road, with orders to press on the American right, on the first opportunity. General Stricker, seeing that his left flank would be the main object of attack, ordered up the 39th into line on the 27th, and detached two pieces of artillery to the extreme left of Lieutenant-Colonel Fowler's command. Lieutenant-Colonel Amey was also directed to form the 51st at right angles, with his right resting near the left of the 39th.

The whole force of the enemy at that moment pressed forward, his right column advancing upon the 27th and 39th, and attacked those regiments with great impetuosity. The 51st, which was ordered to open upon the enemy in his attempt to turn the rest of the line, delivered a loose fire, immediately broke, fled precipitately from its ground, and in such confusion, that every effort to rally it proved ineffectual. The 2d battalion of the 39th, was thrown into disorder, by the flight of the 51st, and some of its companies also gave way. The remainder and the 1st battalion stood firm. Thus abandoned by the retreat of the 51st, General Stricker made new arrangements for the reception of the enemy, and opened a general fire upon him, from the right, left, and centre.

The artillery sent forth a destructive torrent of canister against the British left column, then attempting to gain the cover of a small log-house, in front of the 5th regiment. Captain Sadtler, with his yagers from that regiment, who were posted in the house, when the British 4th regiment was advancing, had, however, taken the precaution to set fire to it, and the intention of the enemy was therefore defeated. The 6th regiment then opened its fire, and the whole line entered into an animated contest, which continued, with a severe loss to the enemy, until fifteen minutes before four o'clock. At that hour, General Stricker, having inflicted as much injury upon the invaders as possibly be expected, from a line now but fourteen hun-

dred strong, against a force amounting, notwithstanding its losses, to at least seven thousand men, ordered his brigade to retire upon the reserve regiment; an order well executed by the whole line, which in a few minutes rallied upon Lieutenant-Colonel McDonald. From the point occupied by this regiment, General Stricker, in order to refresh his troops, and prepare them for a second movement of the enemy, retired to a position half a mile in advance of the left of Major-General Smith's intrenchments. Here he was joined by General Winder, who, with General Douglass' Virginia brigade, and the United States dragoons, under Captain Bird, took post upon his left.

Whilst all these movements were in operation, General Smith was actively engaged in manning the trenches and batteries with Generals Stansbury's and Foreman's brigades, a detachment of seamen and marines, under Commodore Rodgers, Colonels Cobean and Finly's Pennsylvania volunteers, Colonel Harris's Baltimore artillery, and the marine artillery, under Captain Stiles. Colonel Brooke did not advance with his columns further than the ground on which General Stricker had been previously formed, where he remained during the night of the 12th. Early on the following morning, he received a communication from Admiral Cochrane, that the frigates, bomb ships, and flotilla of barges, would take their stations, to bombard the town and fort, in the course of the morning. At daybreak of the 13th, the land forces, therefore, again moved forward and occupied a position two miles eastward of the intrenchments.

The day was chiefly employed in manœuvering by both parties. Colonel Brooke frequently attempting to make a detour through the country, to the Harford and York roads; and Generals Winder and Stricker adapting their movements to those of the enemy, the better to frustrate his designs. At noon the British columns were concentrated directly in front of the American line, and Colonel Brooke advanced to within a mile of the works, drove in the outposts, and made arrangements for an attack at night. Generals Winder and Stricker were then ordered to station themselves an the enemy's right, and in the event of an attack upon the breastworks, to fall upon that flank or on his rear



Bombardment of Fort McHenry

The assault was not made, however, and the enemy, probably, thinking he would be outflanked, and having discovered the strength of the defenses, withdrew from his position in the course of the night, and re-embarked his troops in the evening of the 14th. His retreat was not discovered until break of that day, in consequence of the darkness of the night; and though a heavy fall of rain continued throughout the morning, General Winder, with his dragoons, and the Virginia militia, Major Randal, with his light corps, and the whole militia and cavalry were sent in pursuit. The excessive fatigue of the troops, all of whom had been three days and nights under arms, in the most inclement weather, prevented their annoying the enemy's rear with much effect, and they made prisoners of none but stragglers from his army.

At the moment when Colonel Brooke advanced along the Philadelphia road, the frigates and bomb ships of the fleet, approached within striking distance of the fort, Colonel Armistead had already disposed his force to maintain the cannonade with vigour; a company of regular artillery, under Captain Evans, and another of volunteer artillery, under Captain Nicholson, manned the bastions in the Star fort; Captains Bunbury and Addison's sea fencibles, and Captain Berry's, and Lieutenant Pennington's artillery were stationed at the water batteries; and about six hundred infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart, and Major Lane, were placed in the outer ditch, to repulse an attempt to land. The bombardment commenced.

All the batteries were immediately opened upon the enemy, but the shot falling very far short of his vessels, the firing ceased from the fort, or was maintained only at intervals, to show that the garrison had not sunk under the tremendous showers of rockets and shells, incessantly thrown into the batteries. Thus situated, without the power of retaliating the attack of the enemy, Colonel Armistead and his brave men endured their mortification with an unyielding spirit, during the whole bombardment, which continued until seven o'clock on the morning of the 14th.

Under cover of the night, the British commanders despatched a fleet of barges to attack and storm Fort Covington. The attempt was repulsed, however, and the assailants retired, with

an immense loss to their bomb vessels, and on the morning of Wednesday, the whole stood down the river, and rejoined Admiral Cochrane's fleet. The loss in the fort amounted to four killed, and twenty-four wounded: among the killed were two gallant young volunteer officers, Lieutenants Clagget and Clem. The entire loss of the enemy has not yet been ascertained. That of the Americans on the field of battle did not fall short of one hundred and fifty, which, being added to the killed and wounded in the fort, makes a total of one hundred and seventy-eight. The invaders having thus retired from what they called a demonstration upon Baltimore, the safety of the citizens was secured, and the different corps were relieved from further duty.

The plan of operations, however, which had been adopted by the British cabinet, to destroy and lay waste the principal towns and commercial cities, assailable either by their land or naval forces, was not to be abandoned because of this repulse, gallant and effective as it was. The cities of Charleston, Savannah, Baltimore, and Washington, were destined to be burnt and plundered; and New Orleans, the great emporium of all the wealth and treasure of the western states, was to be seized, and held as a colony of Great Britain. The failure of her arms, in an assault upon either of these places, was not to prevent an attack upon another, no matter what the slaughter; and the separate commanders were directed to concentrate their forces, or draw from the Bermudas such an augmentation as should be necessary, and in the event of successive repulses upon other objects, to bend all their strength against the city of New Orleans, and its defenses on the Mississippi. At the Bermudas, a powerful and well appointed fleet and army was for this purpose collected, and their arrival upon the southern coast daily anticipated.

Admiral Cochrane had in the mean time directed a smaller squadron of vessels, then fitting out at Pensacola, in the territory of a neighbouring nation with whom the United States were at the same moment at peace, for an expedition against some of the defenses by which the entrance to New Orleans was protected, to make the earliest preparation for an assault upon Fort Bowyer, a garrison situated at a point called Mobile.

In the early part of September, this squadron, consisting of

two sloops of war and two gun brigs, mounting in all ninety guns, and commanded by Captain Percy, was already on its way to the intended attack.

During the summer, the British brig Orpheus had landed a number of officers in Appalachicola bay, who entered into arrangements with the disaffected Creeks of the southern states, by which they agreed to assist the enemy in their designs against Louisiana. About the same time Colonel Nicholls sailed from the Bermudas to Havana, in order to solicit the co-operation of the Spanish authorities at that place; but failing in this, he proceeded to Pensacola, and landed, contrary to the wishes of the captain-general. After establishing his head-quarters, he enlisted and publicly drilled bands of Indians, clothing them in the British uniform.

Early in September, Nicholls addressed a package of letters to the noted Lafitte, at that time leader of a numerous band of lawless privateers, whose principal station was at Barataria. The bearer, Mr. Lockyer, enlarged on the subject of them, urging Lafitte to enter into the service of his Britannic majesty, with all those who were under his command, or over whom he had sufficient influence; and likewise to loan the British army all the armed vessels at Barataria, to aid in the intended attack on the fort of Mobile. The captain insisted much on the great advantages which would thence result to Lafitte and his crews; offered him the rank of captain in the British service, and the sum of thirty thousand dollars, payable at his option, in Pensacola or New Orleans; urging him not to let slip an opportunity so favourable for acquiring fortune and consideration. On Lafitte's requiring a few days for reflection, Captain Lockyer observed that no reflection could be necessary, respecting proposals which obviously precluded hesitation, as he was a Frenchman, and of course now a friend to Great Britain, proscribed by the American government, exposed to infamy, and had a brother at that very time loaded with irons in the jail at New Orleans. Every other argument likely to work on the ambition or avarice of the privateer was used with artful address by this minion of British authority. Lafitte, however, refused to give a decisive answer; but with a promptness that does honour to his patri[illegible] he hastened to forward a report of his interview, togeth[illegible]

despatches, to the American authorities at New Orleans. He also requested permission to enter the American service, and establish a military post at Barataria. This was not granted.

Disappointed in this affair, the British began to concentrate their preparations at Pensacola and Appalachicola. In the latter place, besides troops, they landed twenty thousand stand of arms, with ammunition, blankets, and clothing, to be distributed among the Indians. They also used every means to detach the southern slaves from their masters.

Meanwhile the Americans had been organizing bands of militia, reinforcing the small regulars in New Orleans and other stations, and adopting other measures of defense. One feeling pervaded the south—hatred to the ruthless invaders who had burned cities and towns, devastated districts, and committed deeds of public wrong, fit only for ages of the darkest barbarism.

As the movements of the enemy left no ground to doubt that Fort Bowyer was soon to be attacked, Major Lawrence, the commandant, made the utmost exertions to place it in a condition for a vigorous resistance, while the brave garrison ardently longed for an opportunity of evincing their zeal and devotedness for the honour and interest of their country.

Fort Bowyer was a redoubt formed on the sea-side, by a semicircular battery of four hundred feet in development, flanked with two curtains sixty feet in length, and joined to a bastion whose capital line passes through the centre of the circular battery. The bastion is capable of containing but two pieces of artillery. Inside, the fort is one hundred and eighty feet in length, from the summit of the bastion to the parapet of the circular battery, and two hundred feet for the length of the chord of the arc described. The interior front of the parapet was formed of pine wood, which a single shell could have set on fire. The fort was destitute of casements, even for the sick, the ammunition or provisions. Beside these inconveniences, the whole work was badly situated, being overlooked by several mounds of sand at the distance of from two to three hundred yards. On the summit of these it would have been easy for an enemy to mount pieces of artillery, so that their plunging fire would command the inside of the fort.

On the 12th of September, four large vessels appeared near Mobile Point, and Major Lawrence ordered the whole garrison to enter the fort, and keep themselves in readiness for action. From that time each man passed the night at his post, and under arms. The whole garrison numbered but one hundred and thirty men including officers, with twenty pieces of cannon, several of which were useless.

On the morning of September 12th, six hundred Indians and Spaniards, and one hundred and thirty British marines, landed some distance from the fort; and on the evening of the same day two sloops of war, and two brigs anchored within six miles. Parties reconnoitered the works next morning, and a few shots were fired upon them in the afternoon. Similar demonstrations were made on the 14th. At two o'clock, on the 15th, the ships formed in line of battle near the fort. Major Lawrence then convened a council of officers, who unanimously resolved, "That in case of being, by imperious necessity, compelled to surrender, (which could only happen in the last extremity, on the ramparts being entirely battered down, and the garrison almost wholly destroyed, so that any further resistance would be evidently useless,) no capitulation should be agreed on, unless it had for its fundamental article, that the officers and privates should retain their arms and their private property, and that on no pretext should the Indians be suffered to commit any outrage on their persons and property; and, unless full assurance were given them, that they would be treated as prisoners of war, according to the custom established among civilized nations."

At half past four, the enemy's four ships commenced the attack, which soon became general. The British had erected a land battery, which also opened upon the fort, which was soon wrapped in clouds of smoke. The flag of the Hermes, the principal vessel, was shot away, and for a few minutes, the firing on both sides ceased. It was soon renewed, and the Hermes, losing her anchor, was drifted within full range of the fort, where she remained more than fifteen minutes, exposed to a fire that swept almost every thing on deck. About this time the American flag was shot away, and the enemy's troops on shore believing that the fort had surrendered, marched toward it. A volley of grape-

shot soon undeceived them, and they hastily retired beyond the mounds of sand. The Hermes had now run aground, and being utterly unmanageable, she was set on fire. The three remaining ships, with much difficulty got to sea. The garrison continued their fire upon the Hermes until night, when she appeared in flames, burning until eleven, at which time the powder became ignited, and she blew up with a tremendous explosion.

In this assault the enemy numbered thirteen hundred and thirty men, with ninety-two pieces of artillery; while the garrison consisted of but one hundred and thirty men, with twenty cannon, several of them unfit for use. The American loss was four killed and four wounded; that of the enemy two hundred and thirty-two, of whom but seventy were killed.

This noble defense spread a thrill of exultation throughout the south, and inspired, in no little degree, that spirit of determined patriotism, which was soon to produce such glorious results.

On the 21st, General Jackson issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Louisiana, in which, after setting forth the perfidious conduct of the British on the coast, and their intrigues with Lafitte, he implored their zealous assistance in repelling the invaders. A similar address was published to the free coloured population.

As the expedition against Fort Bowyer had sailed from Pensacola, General Jackson determined to reduce that place, notwithstanding its belonging to a neutral nation. Accordingly on the 6th of November, 1814, he arrived before the town with four thousand men, and summoned it to surrender. His flag was fired upon; and on its return, reported to the general that both Spanish and English colours were flying from the walls. Believing that so wanton an outrage originated entirely from the British, Jackson sent a letter to the governor, by a prisoner, demanding a satisfactory explanation of the affront. The governor immediately despatched an officer with assurances of his having had no participation in the insult, adding, that if the general was pleased to renew the communication, he would guaranty the messenger a proper reception. This was done, and the following conditions were offered:—To receive an American garrison in the forts St. Michael and Barrancas, until the Spanish

government could procure a sufficient force to enable them to maintain their neutrality against its violation by the British, who had possessed themselves of the fortresses, notwithstanding the remonstrance and protest of the Spanish governor. That the American forces should be withdrawn, when such a force should arrive. These conditions having been refused, the messenger declared, agreably to his instructions, that however painful to the general's feelings, recourse would be had to arms.

On the 7th of November, the American army marched to the attack in three columns. The centre was composed of regular infantry, with two pieces of artillery, under Major Woodruff. The remaining columns, with a battalion of volunteer dragoons from Mississippi, marched in the rear. When in sight of the town, the centre column was ordered to charge, which it did in the face of a Spanish battery, losing eleven men, but carrying the guns at the point of the bayonet. The Spaniards had four killed and six wounded. The governor now sent a flag of truce to the American general, and hostilities ceased. It was agreed that the block-houses of the town, Barrancas, and fort St. Michael should receive an American garrison. But the commandant of St. Michael refused to obey the governor's order, and held possession of the fort. General Jackson offered him the same propositions that had been made the night before, and half an hour to determine. Then having resigned the command to Major Pierce, with eight hundred men, and instructions to get possession of the fort before night, either by negotiation or force, he retired to his camp with the remainder of the troops. During the afternoon the St. Rose battery, opposite Barrancas, was blown up by the Spaniards; and at ten o'clock, P. M., Colonel Sotto, the commandant of St. Michael, surrendered without opposition. The fort was immediately taken possession of by the Americans. Public and private property in this station, and all others of the city, was respected with a carefulness that excited the greatest astonishment and pleasure among the inhabitants.

Next morning the Spanish governor refused to issue an order for the surrender of Barrancas, alleging that it would be disobeyed. As it commanded the entrance into Pensacola bay, and was of the utmost importance, Jackson determined on assaulting

it. While preparations were making for this purpose, an explosion was heard, and flames were seen proceeding from the fort. The cause was soon ascertained; the British had persuaded the commandant to blow up the works, and retire to Havana, with all his force, amounting to three or four hundred men. The object of the expedition being accomplished, General Jackson determined to withdraw the greater part of his army from the Spanish territory, and march back to Mobile and New Orleans. He set out on the 9th, and after stopping for some days at the former place, he reached New Orleans, December 2d. On the same day he reviewed the battalion of uniform companies of New Orleans militia, commanded by Major Daquin. Their appearance and behaviour afforded him much satisfaction.

The arrival of General Jackson gave a new complexion to affairs in the city. Hitherto all attempts to adopt measures of defense had been feeble. The legislature had appointed a joint committee of both houses, to concert with the governor, Commodore Patterson, and the military commandant, such measures as might be deemed most expedient. But there was no concentration of power, nor even of feeling. The citizens distrusted the abilities of their civil and military authorities. Unpardonable disputes increased the difficulty. Credit was destroyed; the banks and all suspended payments, and business was nearly stagnant. But General Jackson united all parties, arrested all discord, and gave instant animation to the measures of defense. On the second day after his arrival the general visited Fort St. Philip, in order to ascertain its condition, and to examine what parts of the river below New Orleans it might be expedient to defend. He ordered the demolition of the wooden barracks within the fort, several additional pieces of artillery to be mounted on the ramparts, and a five-gun battery, and a mortar on the several points. He also ordered two batteries to be constructed, mounting several pieces of

[illegible] General Jackson wrote to the governor of the state, informing him that the river banks could be well defended, and urging the expediency of requiring the planters to have the levees for the purpose of throwing up embankments. He stated the dangerous position of affairs, and the necessity of

immediate action. The governor and legislature cordially responded to his views, and were immediately seconded by the inhabitants.

On the afternoon of the 13th, six gun-boats, under Lieutenant Jones, who had been sent out to watch the movements of the British fleet, encountered a number of the enemy's barges. Manœuvering took place until after midnight, when the lieutenant was forced to anchor near Malheureux island. On the same day a tender was set on fire to prevent its falling into the hands of the British. Early on the 14th, the enemy captured the tender Alligator. The whole British flotilla then attacked the gun-boats, and an action ensued, in which one hundred and eighty-two men, distributed in boats, fought three-quarters of an hour, with twelve hundred veterans, in forty-two large barges, carrying nine and twelve-pounders, and twenty-four-pound carronades, in all numbering forty-three pieces. They had six men killed, and thirty-five wounded. The British had several barges sunk, and lost more than two hundred men.

From this time until the 21st, every precaution was taken to provide against the expected attack. General Jackson armed all his troops, reviewed them daily, wrote by express to Generals Coffee, Carrol, and Thomas, to join him with all speed, and declared the city under strict martial law. "All classes of society were animated with the most ardent zeal. The young, the old, women, children, all breathed defiance to the enemy. It was known that the enemy was on our coast, within a few hours' sail of the city, with a presumed force of between nine and ten thousand men; whilst all the forces we had yet to oppose him amounted to no more than one thousand regulars, and from four to five thousand militia; yet such was the universal confidence inspired by the activity and decision of the commander-in-chief, added to the detestation in which the enemy was held, and the desire to punish his audacity, should he presume to land, that not a single warehouse or shop was shut, nor were any goods or valuable effects removed from the city."

On the 21st, twelve men were sent in a boat to a settlement of Spanish fishermen, on the left bank of the Bayou Bienvenu, above its entrance into Lake Borgne, in order to give notice of

any attempt of the enemy to penetrate that way. The fishermen were in the British service; and, on arriving at their village, the detachment found but one there, the others, under pretence of fishing, having gone as pilots to the British barges. The men kept up an incessant watch for the enemy until midnight of the 22d, when a noise was heard, and each man seized his arms. Five barges filled with men, and provided with artillery, were soon perceived. Seven men entered their boat, but being perceived, were all captured. But four of the whole detachment escaped, and three of these, after numerous hardships, were subsequently captured. The enemy then pushed forward to General Villery's plantation, captured his son and several others, and took possession of the estate.

Of the events which followed, we have the following account from Eaton's Life of Jackson:



AYOU BIENVENU, through which the landing was made, is an arm of considerable width, stretching toward the Mississippi, from Lake Borgne, and about fifteen miles south-east of New Orleans. It had been reported to General Jackson, on the 23d, that, on the day before, several strange sail had been descried off Terre au Bœuf. To ascertain correctly the truth of the statement, Majors Tatum and Latour, topographical engineers, had been sent off, with orders to proceed in that direction, and learn if any thing were attempting there. It was toward noon of the 23d, when they started. Approaching General Villery's plantation, and perceiving at a distance, soldiers, and persons fleeing hastily away, they at once supposed the enemy had arrived. What, however, was but surmise, was presently, and on nearer observation, rendered certain; and it was now no longer a doubt, but that the British had landed, in considerable force, and had actually gained, unobserved, the house of General Villery, on the bank of the Mississippi, where they had surprised, and made prisoners, a company of militia, there posted.

"Major Tatum, hastening back, announced his discovery. Preparations to act were immediately made by General Jackson.

The signal guns were fired, and expresses sent forward, to concentrate the forces; resolving, that night, to meet the invaders, and try his own and their firmness.



THE hour to test the bravery of his troops had now arrived. The approach of the enemy, flushed with the hope of easy victory, was announced to Jackson, a little after one o'clock in the afternoon. There were too many reasons, assuring him of the necessity of acting speedily, to hesitate a moment, on the course proper to be pursued. Could he assail them, and obtain even a partial advantage, it might be beneficial—it might arrest disaffection—buoy up the despondent—determine the wavering, and bring within his reach resources for to-morrow, which might wholly fail, should fear once take possession of the public mind. It was a moment, too, of all others, most propitious to success. He well knew the greater part of his troops were inured to marching and fatigue, while those opposed to him were just landed from a long voyage, and were as yet without activity, and unfitted for bodily exertion. Moreover, a part only might have arrived from the shipping, while the remainder would be certainly disembarked as early as possible. These circumstances seemed to augment, in his behalf, the chances of victory, if now sought; but if deferred, they might, in a little time, disappear. He resolved, at all events, to march, and that night give them battle. Generals Coffee and Carroll were ordered to proceed immediately from their encampment, and join him with all haste. Although four miles above, they arrived in the city in less than two hours after the order had been issued. These forces, with the 7th and 44th regiments, the Louisiana troops, and Colonel Hinds's dragoons, constituted the strength of his army, which could be carried into action against an enemy, whose numbers, at this time, could only be conjectured. It was thought advisable to leave Carroll and his division behind; for notwithstanding there was no correct information of the force landed through Villery's canal, yet Jackson feared that this

might be only a feint intended to divert his attention, while, in all probability, a much stronger and more numerous division, having already gained some point higher on the lake, might, by advancing in his absence, gain his rear, and succeed in their views. Uncertain of their movements, it was essential he should be prepared for the worst, and, by different dispositions of his troops, be ready to resist, in whatever quarter he might be assailed. Carroll, therefore, at the head of his division, and Governor Claiborne, with the state militia, were directed to take post on the Gentilly road, leading from Chef Menteur to New Orleans, and to defend it to the last extremity.

"Colonel Hayne, with two companies of riflemen, and the Mississippi dragoons, was sent forward to reconnoiter their camp, learn their position and their numbers; and, in the event they should be found advancing, to harass and oppose them at every step, until the main body should arrive.



EVERY thing being ready, General Jackson commenced his march, to meet and fight the veteran troops of England. An inconsiderable circumstance, at this moment, evinced what unlimited confidence was reposed in his skill and bravery. As his troops were marching through the city, his ears were assailed with the screams and cries of innumerable females, who had collected on the way, and seemed to apprehend the worst of consequences. Feeling for their distresses, and anxious to quiet them, he directed Mr. Livingston to address them in the French language. "Say to them," said he, "not to be alarmed: the enemy shall never reach the city." It operated like an electric shock. To know that he himself was not apprehensive of a fatal result, inspired them with altered feelings; sorrow was ended, and their grief converted into hope and confidence.

"The general arrived in view of the enemy, a little before dark. Having previously ascertained from Colonel Hayne their position, and that their strength was about two thousand men,*

* This opinion, as it afterwards appeared, was incorrect. Their number, at the commencement of the action, was three thousand, which was shortly afterwards increased by additional forces.

he immediately concerted the mode of attack, and hastened to execute it. Commodore Patterson, commanding the naval forces, with Captain Henly on board the Caroline, had been directed to drop down, anchor in front of their line, and open upon them from the guns of the schooner; which being the signal for attack, was to be waged simultaneously on all sides. The fires from their camp disclosed their position, and showed their encampment, formed with their left resting on the river, and extending at right angles into the open field. General Coffee, with his brigade, Colonel Hinds's dragoons, and Captain Beal's company of riflemen, was ordered to oblique to the left, and, by a circuitous route, avoid their pickets, and endeavour to turn their right wing; having succeeded in this, to form his line, and press the enemy towards the river, where they would be exposed more completely to the fire of the Caroline. The rest of the troops, consisting of the regulars, Plauche's city volunteers, Daquin's coloured troops, the artillery under Lieutenant Spoots, supported by a company of marines, commanded by Colonel McKee, advanced along the bank of the Mississippi, and were commanded by Jackson in person.

"General Coffee had advanced beyond their pickets, next the swamp, and nearly reached the point to which he was ordered, when a broadside from the Caroline announced the battle begun. Patterson had proceeded slowly, giving time, as he believed, for the execution of those arrangements contemplated on the shore. So sanguine had the British been in the belief that they would be kindly received, and little opposition attempted, that the Caroline floated by the sentinels, and anchored before their camp, without any kind of molestation. On passing the front picket, she was hailed in a low voice, but returning no answer, no further question was made. This, added to some other attendant circumstances, confirmed the opinion that they believed her a vessel laden with provisions, which had been sent out from New Orleans, and was intended for them. Having reached what, from their fires, appeared to be the centre of their encampment, her anchors were cast, and her charact siness disclosed from her guns. So unexpected a [illegible] momentary confusion; but, re-

discharge of musketry, and flight of congreve rockets, which passed without injury, while her grape and canister were pouring destructively on them. To take away the certainty of aim afforded by the light of their fires, these were immediately extinguished, and they retired two or three hundred yards into the open field, if not out of the reach of the cannon, at least to a distance, where, by the darkness of the night, they would be protected.



COFFEE had dismounted his men, and turned his horses loose, at a large ditch, next the swamp, in the rear of Lorond's plantation, and gained, as he believed, the centre of the enemy's line, when the signal from the Caroline reached him. He directly wheeled his columns in, and, extending his line parallel with the river, moved towards their camp. He had scarcely advanced more than a hundred yards, when he received a heavy fire, from a line formed in his front: this, to him, was an unexpected circumstance, as he supposed the enemy lying principally at a distance, and that the only opposition he should meet, until he approached towards the levee,* would be from their advanced guards. The circumstance of his coming up with them so soon was owing to the severe attack of the schooner, which had compelled them to abandon their camp, and form without her reach. The moon shone, but reflected her light too feebly to discover objects at a distance. The only chance, therefore, of producing certain injury, with this kind of force, which consisted chiefly of riflemen, was not to venture at random, but only to discharge their pieces when there should be a certainty of felling the object. This order being given, the line pressed on, and, having gained a position near enough to distinguish, a general fire was given; it was too severe and destructive to be withstood; the enemy gave way, and retreated,—rallied,—formed,—were charged, and again re-

* Embankments formed along the river, to confine it in its bed.

treated. These gallant men, led by their brave commander, urged fearlessly on, and drove them from every position they attempted to maintain. Their general was under no necessity to encourage and allure them to deeds of valour: his own example was sufficient to excite them. Always in the midst, he displayed a coolness and disregard of danger, calling to his troops, that they had often said they could fight, now was the time to prove it.

"The enemy, driven back by the resolute firmness and ardour of their assailants, had now reached a grove of orange trees, with a ditch running past it, protected by a fence on the margin. It was a favourable position, promising security, and was occupied with a confidence that they could not be forced to yield it. Coffee's dauntless yeomanry, strengthened in their hopes of success, moved on, nor discovered the advantages against them, until a fire from the whole British line showed their defense. A momentary check was given; but, gathering fresh ardour, they charged across the ditch, gave a deadly and destructive fire, and forced them to retire. Their retreat continued, until, gaining a similar position, they made another stand, and were again driven from it, with considerable loss.

"Thus the battle raged, on the left wing, until the British reached the bank of the river; here a determined stand was made, and further encroachments resisted: for half an hour the conflict was extremely violent on both sides. The American troops could not be driven from their purpose, nor the British made to yield their ground; but at length, having suffered greatly, the latter were under the necessity of taking refuge behind the levee, which afforded a breastwork, and protected them from the fatal fire of our riflemen. Coffee, unacquainted with their position, for the darkness had greatly increased, already contemplated again to charge them; but Major Moulton, who had discovered their situation, assured him it was too hazardous; that they could be driven no further, and would, from the point they occupied, resist with the bayonet, and repel, with considerable loss, any attempt to dislodge them. The place of their retirement was covered in front by a stro ·k, which had been extended into the field, to keep out t quence of the first being encroa·

several places: the old one, however, was still entire, in many parts, and gave them security from the broadsides of the schooner, which lay off at some distance. A further apprehension, lest, by moving still nearer the river, he might greatly expose himself to the fire of the Caroline, which was yet spiritedly maintaining the conflict, induced Coffee to retire until he could hear from the commanding general, and receive his further orders.



DURING this time, the right wing, under Jackson, was no less prompt and active. A detachment of artillery under Lieutenant Spotts, supported by sixty marines, formed the advance, and had moved down the road, next the levee. On their left was the 7th regiment of infantry, led by Major Piere. The 44th, commanded by Major Baker, was formed on the extreme left; while Plauche's and Daquin's battalions of city guards, were directed to be posted in the centre, between the 7th and 44th. The general had ordered Colonel Ross, who, during the night, acted in the capacity of brigadier-general, on hearing the signal from the Caroline, to move off by heads of companies, and, having reached the enemy's line, to deploy, and seek to unite the left wing with the right of General Coffee's. This order was omitted to be executed; and the consequence was an early introduction of confusion in the ranks, whereby was prevented the important design of uniting the two divisions.

"Instead of marching in column from the first position, the troops were wheeled into an extended line, and moved off in this order, except the 7th regiment, next the person of the general, which advanced agreably to the instructions that had been given. Having sufficient ground to form on at first, no inconvenience was at the moment sustained: but this advantage presently failing, the centre was compressed, and forced in the rear. The river, from where they were, gradually inclined to the left, and diminished the space originally possessed: farther in, stood Lo-

rond's house, surrounded by a grove of clustered orange trees: this pressing the left, and the river the right wing to the centre, formed a curve, which threw the principal part of Plauche's and Daquin's battalions without the line. This might have been remedied, but for the briskness of the advance, and the darkness of the night. A heavy fire from behind a fence immediately before them, had brought the enemy to view. Acting in obedience to their orders, not to waste their ammunition at random, our troops had pressed forward against the opposition in their front, and thereby threw those battalions in the rear.



FOG rising from the river, which, added to the smoke from the guns, was covering the plain,—gradually diminishing the little light shed by the moon, and greatly increasing the darkness of the night: no clue was left, to tell how or where the enemy were situated. There was no alternative but to move on, in the direction of their fire, which subjected the assailants to material disadvantages. The British, driven from their first position, had retired back, and occupied another, behind a deep ditch, that ran out of the Mississippi towards the swamp, on the top of which was a high fence. Here, strengthened by increased numbers, they again opposed the approach of our troops. Having waited until they had come sufficiently near to be discovered, they discharged, from their fastnesses, a fire upon the advancing army. Instantly our battery was formed, and poured destructively upon them; while the infantry, coming up, aided in the conflict, which was for some time spiritedly maintained. At this moment, a brisk sally was made upon our advance, when the marines, unequal to the assault, were already giving way. The adjutant-general, and Colonels Piatt and Chotard, with a part of the 7th, hastening to their support, drove the enemy, and saved the artillery from capture. General Jackson, perceiving the advantages they derived from their position, ordered their line to be charged. It was obeyed with cheerfulness, and execut[illegible]ess. Pressing on, our troops gained the dit[illegible]well-aimed fire

compelled them to retreat, and abandon their intrenchment. The plain, on which they were contending, was cut to pieces, by races from the river, to convey the water. They were, therefore, very soon enabled to take another situation, equally favourable with the one whence they had just been driven, where they formed for battle, and, for some time, gallantly maintained themselves; but were at length forced to yield it, and retreat.

"The enemy, discovering the firm and obstinate resistance made by the right wing of the American army, and perhaps presuming its principal strength was posted on the road, formed the intention of attacking violently the left. Obliquing for this purpose, an attempt was made to turn it. At this moment, Daquin's and the battalion of city guards were marched up, and, being formed on the left of the 44th, met and repulsed them.

"The time of the contest prevented many of those benefits which might have been derived from the artillery. The blaze of the enemy's musketry was the only light by which they could judge of their positions, or be capable of taking their own to advantage; yet, notwithstanding, it greatly annoyed them, whenever it could be brought to bear. Directed by Lieutenant Spotts, a vigilant and skilful officer, with men to aid him, who looked to nothing but a zealous discharge of their duty, it rendered the most essential and important services.



HE enemy had been thrice assailed and beaten, and made to yield their ground for nearly a mile. They had now retired, and, if found, were to be again sought for through the dark. The general determined to halt, and ascertain Coffee's position and success, previously to waging the battle further, for as yet no communication had passed between them. He entertained no doubt, from the brisk firing in that direction, but that he had been warmly engaged; but this had now nearly subsided; the Caroline, too, had almost ceased her operations; it being only occasionally that the noise of her guns disclosed the little opportunity she possessed of acting efficien-

"The express despatched to General Jackson, from the left wing, having reached him, he determined to prosecute the successes he had gained no further. The darkness of the night—the confusion into which his own division had been thrown, and a similar one on the part of Coffee, all pointed to the necessity of retiring from the field, and abandoning the contest. The bravery and firmness already displayed by his troops, had induced the belief, that by pressing on he might capture the whole British army: at any rate, he considered it but a game of venture and hazard, which, if unsuccessful, could not occasion his own defeat. If, incompetent to its execution, superior numbers or superior discipline should compel him to recede from the effort, he well knew the enemy would not have temerity enough to attempt pursuit. The extreme darkness—their entire ignorance of the situation of the country, and an apprehension lest their forces might be greatly outnumbered, afforded him sufficient reasons, on which to ground a belief, that although beaten from his purpose, he would yet have it in his power to retire in safety: but on the arrival of the express from General Coffee, learning the strong position to which the enemy had retired, and that a part of the left wing had been detached, and were in all probability captured, he determined to retire from the contest, nor attempt a further prosecution of his successes. General Coffee was accordingly directed to withdraw, and take a position at Lorond's plantation, where the line had been first formed: and thither the troops on the right were also ordered to be marched.

"The last charge made by the left wing, had separated from the main body, Colonels Dyer and Gibson, with two hundred men, and Captain Beal's company of riflemen. What might be their fate—whether captured, or had effected their retreat, was at this time altogether uncertain; be that as it might, Coffee's command was thereby considerably weakened.

"Colonel Dyer, who commanded the extreme left, on clearing the grove, after the enemy had retired, was marching in the direction he expected to find General Coffee; he very soon discovered a force in front, and hastened towards it. Arriving within a short [illegible] was hailed, ordered to stop, and to report [illegible] Dyer and Gibson advanced, and stated

they were of Coffee's brigade; by this time they had arrived within a short distance of the line, and perceiving the name of their brigade was not understood, their apprehensions were awakened, lest it might be a detachment of the enemy; in this opinion they were immediately confirmed, and wheeling to return, were fired upon and pursued. Gibson had scarcely started when he fell; before he could recover, a soldier, quicker than the rest, had reached him, and pinned him to the ground with his bayonet; fortunately the stab had but slightly wounded him, and he was only held by his clothes: thus pinioned, and others briskly advancing, but a moment was left for deliberation;—making a violent exertion, and springing on his feet, he threw his assailant to the ground, and made good his retreat. Colonel Dyer had retreated about fifty yards, when his horse dropped dead; entangled in the fall, and slightly wounded in the thigh, there was little prospect of relief, for the enemy were briskly advancing: his men being near at hand, he ordered a fire, which checking their approach, enabled him to escape. Being now at the head of his command,—perceiving an enemy in the direction he had not expected, and uncertain how or where he might find General Coffee, he determined to seek him to the right, and moving on with his little band, forced his way through the enemy's lines, with a loss of sixty-three of his men, who were killed and taken. Captain Beal, with equal bravery, charged through the enemy, carrying off some prisoners, and losing several of his own company.

"This reinforcement of the British had arrived from Bayou Bienvenu after night. The boats that had landed the first detachment, had proceeded back to the shipping, and having returned, were on their way up the bayou, when they heard the guns of the Caroline; moving hastily on to the assistance of those who had debarked before them, they reached the shore, and knowing nothing of the situation of the two armies, came up in the rear of General Coffee's brigade. Coming in contact with Colonel Dyer and Captain Beal, they filed off to the left, and reached the British camp.

"This part of Coffee's brigade, unable to unite with, or find him, retired where they had first formed, and joined Colonel

Hinds's dragoons, which had remained on the ground where the troops had first dismounted, to cover their retreat, in the event it became necessary.

"Jackson had gone into this battle with a confidence of success; and his arrangements were such as would have insured it, even to a much greater extent, but for the intervention of circumstances that were not and could not be foreseen. The Caroline had given her signals, and commenced the battle a little too early, before Coffee had reached and taken his position, and before every thing was fully in readiness to attain the objects designed; but it was chiefly owing to the confusion introduced at first into the ranks, which checked the rapidity of his advance, gave the enemy time for preparation, and prevented his division from uniting with the right wing of General Coffee's brigade.

"Colonel Hinds, with one hundred and eighty dragoons, was not brought into action during the night. Interspersed as the plain was with innumerable ditches, cut in different directions, it was impossible that cavalry could act to any kind of advantage: they were now formed in advance, to watch, until morning, the movements of the enemy.

"From the experiment just made, Jackson believed it would be in his power on renewing the attack to capture the enemy: he concluded, therefore, to call down General Carroll with his division, and assail him again at the dawn of day. Directing Governor Claiborne to remain at his post, with the Louisiana militia, for the defense of the Gentilly road, he despatched an order to Carroll, in the event there had been no appearance of a force during the night, in the direction of Chef Menteur, to hasten and join him with his command; which order was executed by one o'clock in the morning. Previously, however, to his arrival a different conclusion was taken. From prisoners who had been brought in, and some deserters, it was ascertained that the strength of the enemy during the battle was four thousand, and with the reinforcements which had reached them, after its commencement, it was then not less than six:—at any rate, it exceeded his own greatly, even after the Tennessee division should be added. Although very decided advant[illegible]d been tained, yet they had been procured und[illegible]

might be wholly lost in a contest waged in open day, between forces so disproportioned, and by undisciplined troops against veteran soldiers. Jackson well knew it was incumbent upon him to act a part entirely defensive: should the attempt to gain and destroy the city succeed, numerous difficulties would arise, which might be avoided, so long as he could hold the enemy in check, and halt him in his designs. Prompted by these considerations,—that it was important to pursue a course calculated to assure safety; and believing it attainable in no way so effectually as in occupying some point, and by the strength he might give it, make up for the inferiority of his numbers; he determined to forbear all further efforts, until he should more certainly discover the views of the enemy, and until the Kentucky troops should reach him, which had not yet arrived. Pursuing this idea, at four o'clock, having ordered Colonel Hinds to occupy the ground he was then leaving, and to observe the enemy closely, he fell back, and formed his line behind a deep ditch that ran at right angles from the river. There were two circumstances strongly recommending the importance of this place: the swamp, which, from the high lands at Baton Rouge, skirted the river at irregular distances, and was in many places almost impervious, had approached here within four hundred yards of the Mississippi, and hence, from the narrowness of the pass, was more easily to be defended; added to which, there was a deep canal, whence the dirt being thrown on the upper side, already formed a tolerable breastwork. Behind this his troops were formed, and proper measures adopted for increasing its strength, with a determination never to abandon it; but there to resist to the last, and defend those rights which were sought to be outraged and destroyed.

"The soldier who has stood the shock of battle, and knows what slight circumstances often produce decided advantages, will be able, properly, to appreciate the events of this night. Although the dreadful carnage of the 8th of January, hereafter to be told, was in fact the finishing blow, that struck down the towering hopes of those invaders, and put an end to the contest; yet in the battle of the 23d, is to be found abundant cause, why success resulted to our arms, and safety was given to the country.

The British had reached the Mississippi without the fire of a gun, and had encamped upon its banks, as composedly as if they had been seated on their own soil, and at a distance from all danger. These were circumstances awakening a belief that they expected little opposition, were certain of success, and that the troops with whom they were to contend, would scarcely venture to resist them: resting thus confidently, they would the next day have moved forward, and succeeded in the accomplishment of their designs. Jackson, convinced that an early impression was essential to ultimate success, had resolved to assail them at the moment of their landing, and 'attack them in their first position:' we have, therefore, seen him, with a force, inferior by one half, to that of the enemy, at an unexpected moment, break into their camp, and with his undisciplined yeomanry, drive before him the pride of Europe. It was an event that could not fail to destroy all previous theories, and establish a conclusion, our enemy had not before formed, that they were contending against valour inferior to none they had seen;—before which their own bravery had not stood, nor their skill availed them: it had the effect of satisfying them, that the quantity and kind of troops it was in his power to wield, must be different from what had been represented; for, much as they had heard of the courage of the man, they could not suppose, that a general, having a country to defend, and a reputation to preserve, would venture to attack, on their own chosen ground, a greatly superior army, and one, which, by the numerous victories achieved, had already acquired a fame in arms; they were convinced that his force must greatly surpass what they had expected, and be composed of materials different from what they had imagined.

"The American troops, which were actually engaged, did not amount to two thousand men: they consisted of part of

Coffee's brigade and Captain Beal's company, -	648
The 7th and 44th regiments, - - - -	763
Company of marines and artillery, - - -	82
Plauche's and Daquin's battalions, - - -	488
And the Mississippi dragoons, under Colonel Hinds - action,	186
	2167

which for one hour maintained a severe conflict with a force of four or five thousand, and retired in safety from the ground with the loss of but twenty-four killed, one hundred and fifteen wounded, and seventy-four made prisoners; while the killed, wounded and prisoners of the enemy, were not less than four hundred.



UR officers and soldiers executed every order with promptness, and nobly sustained their country's character. Lieutenant-Colonel Lauderdale, of Coffee's brigade, an officer on whom every reliance was placed, fell at his post, and at his duty: he had entered the service, and descended the river, with the volunteers, under General Jackson, in the winter of 1812—passed through all the hardships and difficulties of the Creek war, and had ever manifested a readiness to act when his country needed his services. Young, brave, and skilful, he had already afforded evidences of a capacity, which might in future, have become useful; his exemplary conduct, both in civil and military life, acquired for him a respect, that rendered his fall a subject of general regret. Lieutenant McLelland, a valuable young officer, of the 7th, was also among the number of the slain.

"Coffee's brigade, during the action, imitating the example of their commander, bravely contended, and ably supported the character they had established. The unequal contest in which they were engaged, never occurred to them; nor for a moment checked the rapidity of their advance. Had the British known they were mere riflemen, without bayonets, a firm stand would have arrested their progress, and destruction or capture would have been the inevitable consequence; but this circumstance being unknown, every charge they made was crowned with success, producing discomfiture, and routing and driving superior numbers before them. Officers, from the highest to inferior grades, discharged what had been expected of them. Ensign Leach, of the 7th regiment, being wounded through the body, still remained at his post, and in the performance of his duty. Colonel Reuben Kemper, enterprising and self-collected, amidst the confusion introduced on the left wing, found himself at

head of a handful of men, detached from the main body, and in the midst of a party of the enemy; never did any man better exemplify the truth of the position, that discretion is sometimes the better part of valour: to attempt resistance was idle, and could only eventuate in destruction; with a mind unclouded by the peril that surrounded him, he sought and procured his safety through stratagem. Calling to a group of soldiers who were near, he demanded where their regiment was; lost themselves, they were unable to answer: but taking him for one of their own officers, they followed, as they were ordered, to his own line, where they were made prisoners.

The 7th regiment, commanded by Major Piere, and the 44th, under Major Baker, aided by Major Butler, gallantly maintained the conflict—forced the enemy from every secure position he attempted to occupy, and drove him a mile from the first point of attack. Confiding in themselves, and their general, who was constantly with them, exposed to danger, and in the thickest of the fight, inspired by his ardour, and encouraging by his example, they advanced to the conflict, nor evinced a disposition to leave it, until the prudence of their commander directed them to retire.

FROM the violence of the assault already made, the fears of the British had been greatly excited; to keep their apprehensions alive was considered important, with a view partially to destroy the overweening confidence with which they had arrived, and compel them to act, for a time, upon the defensive. To effect this, General Coffee, with his brigade, was ordered down on the 24th, to unite with Colonel Hinds, and make a show in the rear of Lacoste's plantation. The enemy, not yet recovered of the panic produced by the first assault, already believed it was in contemplation to urge another attack, and immediately formed to repel it; but Coffee having succeeded in recovering some of his horses, which were wandering along the sides of the swamp; and in regaining part of the clothing his troops had lost, returned to the line, leaving to be

ts of his movement.

An English writer gives the following interesting account of the action of the 23d of December:—"When the shades of evening fell, the fires were made to blaze more brightly; supper was despatched, and the men prepared themselves for rest; but a little before eight o'clock the attention of some was drawn to a large vessel, which seemed to be stealing up the river, till she came opposite to the British station, when her anchor was dropped, and her sails leisurely furled. Various were the opinions entertained of this stranger. She was hailed, but no answer was returned. All idea of sleep, however, was now laid aside, and several musket shots were fired, of which not the slightest notice was taken. At length, all her sails being fastened, and her broadside swung toward the camp, a voice was distinctly heard exclaiming, 'Give them this for the honour of America.' The flashes of her guns instantly followed, and a shower of grape shot swept down numbers of the British troops. An incessant cannonade was then kept up, which could not be silenced, as our troops had no artillery, and the few rockets that were discharged deviated so much from their object, as to afford only amusement for the enemy. Under these circumstances, therefore, all were ordered to leave the fires, and shelter themselves under the dikes, where they lay, each as he could find room, listening in painful silence to the iron hail among the huts, and to the shrieks and groans of those that were wounded.

"The night was dark as pitch; the fires were all extinguished, and not an object was visible, except from the momentary flashes of the guns, when a straggling fire called attention toward the pickets, as if some more dreadful scene was about to open: nor was it long before suspense was cut short by a tremendous yell, and a semicircular blaze of musketry, which showed that the position was surrounded by a superior force; and that no alternative remained, but to surrender, or to drive back the assailants. The first of these plans was instantly rejected; for the troops, rushing from their lurking places, and dashing through their bivouac, under heavy discharges from the vessel, lost not a moment in attacking the foe, without the slightest attention to order, or the rules of disciplined warfare: the combat, which was left to individual valour and skill, lasted till three in the

morning; and though the enemy was finally repulsed, no less than five hundred of our finest troops and best officers were left on the field: the rest then retired to their former lurking places, to be out of reach of their enemy on the river; which, when daylight appeared, was discovered to be a fine schooner of eighteen guns, crowded with men. In the cold dikes, however, they were compelled to remain the whole ensuing day, without fire and without food; for whenever the smallest number began to steal away from shelter, the vessel opened her fire.

"In the mean time, the remainder of the troops were disembarking in haste to rejoin their comrades; and as the schooner's guns were heard at the distance of at least twenty miles over the water, and in the silence of the night, the most strenuous exertions were made by the boats' crews: nor was a moment lost in returning to the island; so that the whole army was brought into position before dark on the 24th; but the advanced brigade was still fettered to the bank, while another large ship now cast anchor about a mile from their annoying enemy: as soon, however, as darkness had set in, a change of position was effected, and the division was stationed in the village of huts: the front of the army being then covered by a strong chain of outposts, they remained quiet during the night; and next day General Keene was relieved from further care and responsibility by the unexpected arrival of Sir Edward Packenham and General Gibbs; the former of whom had been despatched from England, to take the chief command, as soon as the death of General Ross was known. The arrival of Packenham, adored as he was by the army, elicited the utmost enthusiasm; and he had scarcely reached the camp, before he proceeded to examine, with a soldier's eye, every point of attack or defense. Of the American army nothing could be seen but a corps of five hundred mounted riflemen, hovering about the British front, and watching every motion; the city was not in sight; and no advance could be made, until the vessels on the river were disposed of: as delay was now dangerous, nine field-pieces, two howitzers, and a mortar were brought down to the bank as soon as it became dark; a battery was quickly thrown up against the schooner; and at dawn, on the 26th, a heavy cannonade was opened upon

ter with red-hot shot: nor was it long before her crew were seen hastening into their boats; while the smoke first, and then the flames, began to rise from her decks; and, in about an hour, she blew up: the guns were then turned against the ship; but not wishing to share the fate of her comrade, she set up every inch of canvas; and being impelled both by sailing and towing, succeeded in getting out of the range of shot. All apparent obstacles being now removed, the army advanced to a more forward position; and arrangements were quietly made during the day till sunset: but from that period until near dawn the whole time was spent in wakefulness and alarm; for the American riflemen harassed the pickets; fired on the sentinels as well as the officers who went the rounds; and, disregarding all the usages of civilized warfare, thought only of diminishing the number of their enemies by picking off every individual whom they could reach. As soon as day began to break, they retired; and our troops formed in two columns: the right, under General Gibbs, took post near the skirts of the morass, throwing out its skirmishers across the plain; while the left, under Keene, drew up on the road near the river, and was covered by the rifle corps, which extended itself to meet the skirmishers of the right column: with this division went the artillery; and at a given signal, the whole moved forward in high spirits, for about four or five miles, without the slightest check. At length they came in view of the American army, very advantageously posted behind a canal, which ran from the morass to within a short distance of the road: along its line were formidable breastworks; while on the road, and at various other points, were powerful batteries, aided by a large flotilla of gun-boats on the river, flanking the position. As the left column passed a few houses, built at a turning of the road, and which concealed the enemy from view, it was suddenly checked by a destructive fire from the battery and the shipping: scarcely a bullet passed over, or fell short of its mark; but striking full into the midst of the British ranks, made dreadful havoc: the houses also on the left, which had been purposely filled with combustibles, were now fired with red-hot shot; so that, while whole ranks were mowed down by the artillery, the survivors were scorched by flames, or half suffocated with

smoke: the troops, however, were not long suffered to remain in this situation; for, being ordered to quit the path, and form in the fields, the British artillery was brought up against that of the enemy; but being inferior both in number of guns and weight of metal, it was soon obliged to retire with great loss. The infantry, having formed in line, now advanced under a heavy discharge of round and grape-shot, till they were stopped by the canal, the depth of which could not be ascertained; they were therefore ordered to take shelter in a wet ditch, sufficiently deep to cover the knees; where, leaning forward, they concealed themselves as well as they could behind some high rushes on its brink: in the mean time, the advance of the right column had been stopped by similar impediments; and nothing seemed left but to withdraw the troops from their perilous situation: a party of courageous seamen were employed to remove the dismounted guns, which service they effected under the whole fire of the enemy; and then regiment after regiment stole away, amid discharges similar to those which saluted their approach; retiring to a position in the plain, about two miles from the enemy's works, and in full sight of their army."

The action of the 23d saved Louisiana; for had the enemy not been attacked with such impetuosity, when they had scarcely effected their disembarkation, they would either that night or the next morning, have marched against the city, which, in its then defenseless condition, with about five thousand men, mostly militia, must inevitably have fallen.

The three following days were occupied in erecting fortifications, and reconnoitering the enemy's positions. Early on the 27th, a battery of twelve and eighteen-pounders opened upon the American schooner Caroline, and in about fifteen minutes set her on fire. She was abandoned by her crew, and soon after blew up. The guns were then directed against the Louisiana, but without causing any damage. In the evening the British land forces drove back the American advance guards, and took possession of Bienvenu's and Chalmette's plantations. All the buildings on the latter were blown up by order of General Jackson. The British slowly continued their march, advancing in columns, preceded by several pieces of artillery, some playing



Fortifying of New Orleans.

on the Louisiana, and others on the American intrenchments. The Louisiana suffered the columns to advance a considerable space, and then opened on them a tremendous and well-directed fire. The example was followed by the land troops, and the enemy's artillery silenced. So excellent was the Louisiana's position, that on one occasion a single ball from her killed fifteen men. Her fire finally broke the columns, forcing them back to the plantations, where they covered themselves by some buildings on Bienvenu's field. They also abandoned several batteries established on the river the preceding night. Their loss was between two and three hundred men; that of the Americans, seven killed and ten wounded.

At this time the British regular troops numbered about ten thousand men. General Gibbs's division had landed, and Sir Edward Packenham had taken command of the army, with his head-quarters at General Villery's house.

Some skirmishing took place on the 31st, and a cannonade was kept up between the Louisiana and some batteries until afternoon. During the night, the enemy erected two batteries at the distance of six hundred yards from the American lines, and about half that distance from the river bank.

On the morning of January 1st, 1815, a thick fog covere

ground until eight o'clock. At this time the British opened a brisk fire from three batteries, mounting in all eighteen large guns. A shower of congreve rockets accompanied the balls, continuing with unprecedented activity for fifteen minutes This was answered by a steady fire from the American lines, and in less than an hour that of the enemy slackened. The head-quarters of General Jackson were destroyed, and himself and staff narrowly escaped being shot. Two gun carriages were also destroyed, and two artillery caissons blown up. At ten o'clock, some platoons of sharp shooters penetrated into the neighbouring woods in order to reconnoiter the American left; but they were promptly met by General Coffee's brigade and driven back.

The enemy's fire continued to slacken until noon, and at one o'clock the two batteries on the right were abandoned. The other threw a few balls and rockets, until three P. M. when it also ceased. Deep silence then ensued, and the assailants retired to their camp, after a most active service of ten hours. The Americans lost during the day, thirty-four in killed and wounded.

On the 4th two thousand two hundred and fifty Kentucky militia arrived in the city, under Major-General Thomas. These troops being almost entirely destitute of decent clothing, were supplied by the legislature of Louisiana and the subscription of private individuals. On the 6th, Sailing-Master Johnson burnt a British brig, loaded with rum and biscuit, capturing ten prisoners. The same day an unusual stir was observed among the enemy, who covered the banks of Villery's canal, dragging boats, inspecting arms, marching and exercising. At the same time the Americans erected a small redoubt of two six-pounders, commanding the river bank and front of the line.

General Jackson had now eight distinct batteries constructed, mounting in all twelve guns, of different calibre, the largest however, being a thirty-two-pounder, under command of Lieutenant Crawley, late of the Caroline. The works were one mile in extent, from the river to the Cypress swamp, and terminated in a bend to the left of about two hundred yards. On the right of these works were stationed the 7th regiment, Major Major Lacoste, and Major Daquin's battalions, and the

44th regiment, amounting in all to thirteen hundred and eighty-nine men, and commanded by Colonel Ross of the 44th; the centre was composed of General Carroll's, and part of General Adair's division, and amounted to sixteen hundred men; on the left was stationed the command of General Coffee, whose brigade consisted of five hundred men; so that the whole line was defended by three thousand four hundred and eighty-nine men. On the opposite side, the works erected by General Morgan were defended by two hundred and seventy-six of the Louisiana contingent, one hundred and seventy-six of the 2d, or Colonel Cavalier's regiment, and the 1st and part of the 6th, comprising one hundred and ten, under Colonel Degian, the whole amounting to five hundred and forty-six men. To these were added, on the night of the 27th, a reinforcement of five hundred men, from General Adair's Kentucky militia, under Colonel Davis. Commodore Patterson erected further batteries on the same side of the river, to annoy the approach of the enemy, if he should attempt it, along the levee on the right bank of the river, and in the line which covered General Morgan's troops were planted one twelve-pounder, and two brass sixes.

During the whole night of the 7th, busy sounds of preparation were heard in the enemy's camp; and before daylight next morning, the American outposts entered camp, and announced that the enemy were approaching in great force. At dawn the news was confirmed; rows of glittering troops, and deep columns of infantry, stretched from the wood to the river, covering the whole field, and presenting a scene of terrible grandeur rarely witnessed in America. A rocket discharged from the wood toward the river was the signal for assault. The troops gave three cheers, and swept along in close column, with fascines and scaling-ladders. Clouds of rockets preceded them, and continued to fall during the whole attack. Three batteries now opened a tremendous fire upon them, but they still rushed on, until within reach of the Tennessee and Kentucky rifles, which, joined with the fire of artillery, mowed them down by companies. The rapid discharges now resembled rattling peals of thunder, and, notwithstanding the utmost exertions of the British officers, their columns faltered. They were then marched



Battle of New Orleans.

obliquely, but this rendered the slaughter greater; the files be came mixed and broken, the whole column broke, and many of the troops ran to shelter themselves among the neighbouring bushes. The remainder retired to the ditch, where they had been when first perceived. At this place, the officers succeeded with much difficulty in rallying their troops, and drew them up for a second attack. In order to be less encumbered, their knapsacks were laid at the edge of the ditch. The rear was also brought up as a reinforcement.

This assault was received with the same steady fire that had repulsed the first. The British, however, advanced much nearer than before; but were driven back in the utmost confusion, and in defiance of all the exertions of the officers, did not stop their flight, until without the reach of danger.

In the commencement of the attack, the honourable Sir Edward Packenham fell a victim to his own intrepidity, while endeavouring to animate his troops. The command then devolved on General Gibbs, who was also mortally wounded; General Keene was borne from the field, dangerously wounded. Many other distinguished officers fell, and the track of the column was marked with piles of the dead and dying. The

officers found it impossible to form the troops a third time, and they passed the remainder of the day near the ditch.

Some of the enemy's troops had advanced into the wood, either to make a false attack or to ascertain if a real one were practicable. They were speedily driven back by General Coffee's rifles. During the attack on the left, a column had also advanced on the right, drove in the American outposts, and entered an unfinished redoubt. The small garrison were either killed or captured, and the British remained masters of the fort. Here, however, they were attacked by Colonel Renee's riflemen, cut to pieces, and the advancing column completely foiled. The British batteries, which had kept up a continual fire during the charge, were all silenced.

During the main assault upon General Jackson's position, a second attack was made on the right bank of the Mississippi, against about eight hundred Louisiana militia, under General Morgan. The enemy crossed at daybreak, attacking and driving back about one hundred men sent to oppose them. It had been their intention to assault Morgan's position simultaneously with the commencement of the main action; but in this they were disappointed by being carried a great distance by the current. A small number of Americans, under Colonel Davis, who had just arrived from Jackson's position, and were hungry, cold, and exhausted, were sent to oppose the British. After a spirited resistance they were driven back. The victors then pushed rapidly against the left of General Morgan's defenses; but received so heavy a fire of artillery and musketry, as obliged them to give ground. They then attacked the right and centre, turned Colonel Davis's detachment, routed the Kentucky militia, and entered the works. They then attacked and carried the left. The defeat of the main army, under Packenham, rendered it useless for the British to pursue this advantage, and the detachment returned to their boats.

The loss of the British in the attack on General Jackson's position, was two hundred and ninety-three killed, twelve hundred and sixty-seven wounded, and four hundred and eighty-four missing. Almost all their valuable officers were killed or wounded. General Jackson had but six men killed, and seven

wounded; but the action with General Morgan swelled the total loss to about five hundred.



ON the following day, the 9th Admiral Cochrane directed two bomb vessels, one sloop of war, a brig, and a schooner, to station themselves before Fort St. Philip, with a view to its bombardment and destruction. On that day they commenced an attack, and continued throwing shells into the fort until the 17th in the evening, when the commandant, Major Overton, opened a heavy mortar, (not until then in readiness,) and threw the line of ships into such disorder, that on the morning of the 18th, they retired to the anchorage of the fleet.

The expedition which had been thus extensively planned in England, and for the fitting out of which an immense treasure had been exhausted, was thus resisted, and entirely destroyed, by the valour and perseverance of a small army, principally made up of volunteers and militia, and commanded by a general, whose military career, though brilliant and almost unparalleled, was commenced but two years before. The slaughter which attended this repulse of the invading army was on their side never surpassed at any other battle. Besides their generals and other officers of high rank, the British lost in killed, wounded, and missing, about four thousand men. The American, killed, wounded, and missing, did not exceed five hundred.

The British fleet, however, continued in the neighbourhood, and on the 10th of February, General Lambert having landed near Fort Bowyer, with a large body of his troops, demanded of Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence the surrender of the garrison In its rear an extensive and heavy battery had been planted, and the powerful force by which it was surrounded, made it expedient that the fort should capitulate on honourable terms, or that

the garrison should submit to the sword. Colonel Lawrence chose that line of conduct which propriety and humanity dictated, and the enemy took possession of the fort.

On the same day the British sloop of war Brazen arrived off the station, with intelligence that a treaty of peace had been concluded upon between the American and British ambassadors at Ghent, which had met the approbation of the prince regent of England. Not long after General Jackson was apprized, by the secretary of war, of the ratification of the treaty by the president and senate, and all hostilities immediately ceased. A regular and mutual exchange of prisoners was entered upon, and the volunteers and militia were honourably discharged, and sent to their homes, with the gratitude and applause of their country.



CHAPTER XXIII.

Close of the Naval Campaign of 1814.



EVERY attempt to escape from the blockade of the frigates United States and Macedonian, and the sloop of war Hornet, at New London, having failed, until the only season at which they could possibly escape had elapsed, the Hornet was ordered to remain at her station as a guard ship, whilst the frigates were to be moved up New London river to the head of navigation for heavy vessels, and there to be dismantled. Commodore Decatur and the crew of the United States were transferred to the frigate President, York. In the course of the winter, a cruise

to the East Indies was determined on, at the navy department, to be performed by a squadron, consisting of that frigate, the sloop of war Peacock, then also at New York, the sloop of war Hornet, and the Tom Bowline, a merchant vessel, bought into the service as a store ship. The Hornet was, therefore, directed to proceed to the same harbour.

On the night of the 18th of November Captain Biddle passed the blockading squadron without being discovered, and joined Commodore Decatur, at New York. That port had been also constantly blockaded, and several frigates, sloops of war, and a razee, were at that time cruising off the hook.

On the 14th of January, Commodore Decatur thinking it more likely to get to sea with the President singly, directed Captain Warrington to follow him with the Peacock and Hornet as soon as the Tom Bowline was in readiness, and having assigned the island of Tristun d'Acunha, as the first place of rendezvous, proceeded to the bay, with a view of escaping from Sandy Hook in the night. In consequence of the negligence of the pilot, the President struck upon the bar, and remained there thumping, upwards of two hours. This accident caused her ballast to shift, and, when extricated from this situation by the rise of the tide, it was discovered that she had entirely lost her trim. The course of the wind forbidding her return to port, the commodore determined, nevertheless, upon running out to sea, and did not doubt but she would soon recover that ease in sailing for which she had been long celebrated. At daylight he fell in with the British squadron, composed of the Majestic, (razee,) the frigates Endymion, Tenedos, and Pomone, and the despatch brig, which immediately gave chase. The President was lightened as much as possible, but the superior sailing of the enemy's ships, enabled them to gain rapidly upon her, and the leading frigate, the Endymion, of forty-nine guns, and mounting twenty-four-pounders on her gun deck, got close under her quarters and commenced firing.

Commodore Decatur, finding that the Endymion was cutting up his rigging, without his being able to annoy her, determined to bear up and engage, and if possible to run her on board, and in the event of carrying her, to sail off and abandon the Presi-

dent. But the enemy manœuvered to avoid this plan, and the conflict continued two hours, and ended in silencing and beating off the Endymion, with her hull and rigging much cut up, her masts and spars badly injured, and a great proportion of her crew killed and wounded. The President was also considerably damaged, and lost twenty-five men killed, and sixty wounded; among the former, Lieutenants Babbit and Hamilton, and Acting Lieutenant Howel; among the latter, the commodore, and Midshipman Dale, who lost a leg, and died of his wounds at Bermuda.

By this time the rest of the squadron came within two miles of the President. The Endymion had hauled off to repair, and Commodore Decatur made another effort to escape. But in three hours, the Pomone and Tenedos lay along-side, and the Majestic and Endymion were within a short distance of him. The gallant commodore, not choosing to sacrifice the lives of his crew in a useless contest with a squadron of ships mounting not less than one hundred and ten guns, received the fire of the nearest frigate, and surrendered. He was taken on board the Endymion, to whose commander he refused to deliver his sword when required, alleging that if they had been singly engaged, that officer would inevitably have been captured, and that he had struck to the whole squadron. The enemy, however, asserted that the President had been conquered by the Endymion alone; that the damage was sustained in a storm which rose up after the battle; and having repaired both vessels, sent the prize from Bermuda to England under her convoy. There she was lightened and laid in dock along-side an old seventy-four, which was deeply laden, to give her a smaller appearance in the water than the President.

The United States frigate Constitution, which had been some time repairing at Boston for a cruise, sailed from that port on the 17th of December, still under the command of Captain Stewart. After cruising in various parts of the ocean, and in the track for outward and homeward bound convoys, until the 20th of February, she fell in with two strange men-of-war sail, at ten minutes past one, P. M., on that day. One of these being to windward, was bearing up for the Constitution, and at $2^{h.}$ $30^{m.}$ displayed signals and squared away to the westward to join her

consort. The Constitution set every rag in chase, and a few minutes before three commenced firing from her forward guns on the gun deck. At 3h. 15m. the main royal-mast of the Constitution was carried away, and enabled the enemy's vessels to distance her fire. Before five a new royal-mast was completed, and a little while after the breeze freshened, and the ship to leeward tacked to the southward under all sail. At six the two ships hauled to on the larboard tack, in line, and in ten minutes the Constitution ranged ahead of the sternmost, brought her on the quarter, her consort on the bow, at two hundred yards distance, and opened a broadside, which was immediately returned.

An exchange of broadsides continued until the three ships were completely enveloped in smoke, upon the clearing away of which the Constitution found herself abreast of the headmost ship, and Captain Stewart ordered both sides to be manned, backed topsails, and dropped into his first position. The ships on the bow backed sails also. The Constitution's broadsides were then fired from the larboard battery, and in a few minutes the ship on the bow perceiving her error in getting sternboard, filled away with an intention of tacking athwart the bows of the Constitution, and the ship on the stern fell off, perfectly unmanageable. The Constitution then filled away, in full pursuit of the former, came within one hundred yards of her, and gave her several raking broadsides. She made all sail before the wind, with a view to escape, and Captain Stewart knowing her crippled situation would enable him to overhaul her at any time after securing her consort, wore round, and ranged along-side the latter ship, from which a gun was fired to leeward to signify that she had surrendered. Possession was then taken, by Lieutenant Hoffman, of his Britannic majesty's frigate Cyane, Captain Gordon Falkon, of thirty-four guns, thirty-two-pound carronades. Her commander and officers being brought on board, Captain Stewart sailed in chase of the other vessel, and in a short time discovered her, standing for him on the weather bow.

In a few minutes the enemy fired a broadside, which being instantly returned, he tacked ship, made all sail, and at that

moment received a rake from the starboard broadside of the Constitution. Upon gaining his wake, Captain Stewart opened a fire from his gun deck chase guns with such effect that the enemy hove too and surrendered, with five feet water in his hold, his masts tottering, and nothing but the smoothness of the sea preventing them from going overboard. Lieutenant Ballard was sent on board, and took possession of his Britannic majesty's ship Levant, Captain Douglass, of eighteen thirty-two-pound carronades, and two large twelve-pounders.

The loss on board the Cyane and Levant amounted to forty men killed, and nearly double that number wounded; on board the Constitution, where no other spar was lost than the fore top gallant yard, four men were killed and eleven wounded. On the 10th of March Captain Stewart entered the harbour of Port Praya with his prizes, and on the 11th a British squadron, consisting of the Leander, Sir George Collier, the Newcastle, Lord George Stewart, neither of them carrying less than sixty guns, and the frigate Acasta, Captain Kerr, of forty-four guns, which had sailed from the eastern coast of the United States, in quest of the Constitution, appeared off its entrance. Captain Stewart immediately made sail, escaped from the harbour with his squadron, and was closely pursued by the enemy's three ships. After a long and perilous chase, the Constitution and Cyane escaped their pursuers, and arrived safely in the United States, but the Levant, after whom all sail was made by the enemy's ships, ran into Port Praya, with a heavy fire of broadsides from the Leander and Newcastle, to put herself under the protection of the neutral port. The neutrality of the Portuguese was not regarded by the British squadron, however, and they recaptured the Levant, and carried her into Barbadoes.

A few days after the departure of the President from New York, the Peacock, Hornet, and Tom Bowline left that harbour without knowing of her capture. On the third after sailing from Sandy Hook, (the 23d of January,) the Hornet parted company with the Peacock and Tom Bowline, and directed her course towards the island of Tristan d'Acunha, the first designated rendezvous for the squadron. On the 23d of March she descried the British brig Penguin, Captain Dickenson, of eighteen guns.

and a twelve-pound carronade, to the southward and eastward of the island. This vessel had been fitted out, and twelve supernumerary marines put on board, with whom her crew amounted to one hundred and thirty-two men, to cruise for the American privateer Young Wasp.

Captain Biddle immediately made sail, cleared the island, and hove to, until the Penguin, at the same time coming down, should be within striking distance. At forty minutes past one, P. M., the Penguin hauled her wind on the starboard tack, hoisted English colours, and fired a gun at musket-shot distance. The Hornet immediately luffed to, sent up an ensign, and gave the enemy a broadside. A constant fire was kept up for fifteen minutes, the Penguin all that time gradually nearing upon the Hornet, when Captain Dickenson gave orders to run her on board, and was killed by a grape-shot before he saw them executed. Lieutenant McDonald, upon whom the command of the Penguin then devolved, bore her up, and running her bowsprit in between the main and mizzen rigging of the Hornet, ordered his crew to board. His men, however, seeing the Hornet's boarders not only ready to repel them, but waiting for orders to jump upon the Penguin's deck, refused to follow him. At that moment the heavy swell of the sea lifted the Hornet ahead, and the enemy's bowsprit carried away her mizzen shrouds and spanker boom, and the Penguin hung upon the Hornet's quarter-deck, with the loss of her foremast and bowsprit. Her commander then called out that he had surrendered. Though he was not distinctly understood, Captain Biddle ordered his marines to cease firing, and demanded of the Penguin whether she had struck. An officer of the Hornet discovered a man taking aim at Captain Biddle, after the surrender, and called to him to avoid the fire. He had scarcely done so, when a musket ball struck the captain in the neck, severely wounding him, and passing through his coat collar. Two marines, to whom the man was pointed out, who had discharged his piece at their commander, immediately fired at and killed him before he brought it from his shoulder. The Penguin just then got clear of the Hornet, and the latter wore round to give the enemy a fresh broadside, when her commander called out a second time that he had sur-

Hornet and Penguin.



Escape of the Hornet.

rendered. The severest exercise of authority became necessary to prevent the Hornet's crew, who were incensed at the enemy's firing after he had struck, from discharging the broadside. Twenty-two minutes after the commencement of the action, she was taken possession of by Mr. Mayo, of the Hornet. The Penguin was so much injured, that Captain Biddle determined upon taking out her crew and scuttling her—after doing which, he sent his prisoners to St. Salvador in the Tom Bowline, by which vessel and the Peacock he was joined on the 25th of the month. In this action the Penguin lost fourteen men killed, and twenty-eight wounded; the Hornet, one killed, and eleven wounded; among the latter, her first lieutenant, Conner, dangerously.

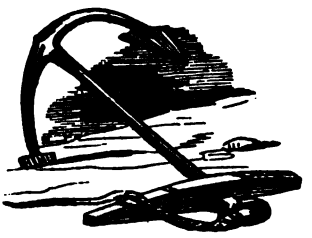
Having bent a new suit of sails, and repaired his rigging, Captain Biddle was in a perfect condition to prosecute the cruise, and, together with the Peacock, after waiting the full time for Commodore Decatur at the island of Tristan d'Acunha, sailed on the 12th of April for the Cape of Good Hope. On the 27th they discovered a British ship of the line, with an admiral's flag. The Peacock and Hornet immediately separated, and made all sail in different directions from the stranger, who came up in pursuit of the latter. The chase commenced at about two

continued until ten in the morning of the

30th, during which time the enemy's bow guns were continually fired—his vessel frequently gained upon, and was as often dropped by the Hornet; and Captain Biddle, after throwing overboard every heavy article at hand, and all his guns but one, at length effected his escape, and went to St. Salvador for the purpose of refitting. On his arrival there, he gained intelligence of the conclusion of hostilities between the two nations, and soon after sailing thence, returned to the United States about the latter end of July, and was promoted to the rank of post captain.

The capture of the Cyane, the Levant, and the Penguin, took place before the expiration of the time limited by the 2d article of the treaty of peace, to constitute their legality, and the only one of them which got into port, the Cyane, was taken into the service of the United States.

Thus terminated a war of two years and eight months, in which the naval arms of the United States were fifteen, and those of Great Britain four times triumphant; and during which the former lost three frigates, seven sloops, and five smaller vessels of war; whilst the latter lost five frigates, nineteen sloops of war, one of which was blown up by a land battery, several gun-brigs and schooners, two brigs cut out from under the guns of a fort, and upwards of fifteen hundred merchantmen, captured by private armed vessels. The operations of the American armies were, at the commencement of the war, not quite so successful:—Defeat, disgrace, and disaster, in many instances, followed their movements; but the struggle was eventually closed by a succession of achievements, which reflected the highest lustre upon the American name, and ranked the United States among the first nations of the earth.



HISTORY

OF THE

FIRST WAR

WITH

THE SEMINOLES.





Francis Hillishago.

THE FIRST SEMINOLE WAR.

AT the commencement of the war of 1812, numbers of Indians in the southern states, dissatisfied with the American government, retired into Florida, where, being countenanced by the Spanish authorities, they formed themselves into small bands for the purposes of plunder and aggression. In September, 1812, a settlement on the St. Johns river was attacked, and eight persons murdered: and soon after an escort, consisting of a captain and twenty men, was surprised by a considerable party, the captain and another man killed, six wounded, and all their wagons carried into St. Augustine. Similar outrages were committed during the whole war, to an extent that kept several of the southern states in continual alarm.

When Colonel Nicholls was expelled from Pensacola by Ge-

neral Jackson, he went to Florida, and immediately commenced a regular organization of the negroes and Indians. In order to strengthen this, he visited England, accompanied by the distinguished Seminole chief, Francis Hillishago, and concluded a treaty of friendship with that nation. Some time after leaving, he was succeeded in the government by Ambrister and Arbuthnot.

Things remained in this unpropitious condition until 1817, when a small tract, called Amelia Island, was attacked by some adventurers, and the Spanish garrison expelled. It was then employed as a depot for smuggling goods. This lawless trade was carried on until December 22d, when by order of President Monroe, Captain Henley seized the island and drove away the outlaws.

Previous to this, Colonel Clinch, with five hundred Indians and a number of United States troops, was sent against a fort erected by the savages on the Appalachicola. On the 10th of July, 1816, the army moved up the river in schooners and gun-boats. When near the fort, a watering party of seven men were attacked by Indians and negroes, five were killed, one escaped, and one captured, tortured, and put to death. The garrison numbered four hundred savages and negroes, who had twelve pieces of artillery. The colonel's gun-boats contained but a twelve-pounder, and twenty-five men each; but although admonished of the enemy's force, he determined on an attack. He had scarcely commenced firing, when a hot shot struck the principal magazine, and the fort was blown up with a fearful explosion, carrying with it the shattered remains of two hundred and seventy-three of the garrison. Only three of the remainder escaped unhurt. This event broke up a large horde of desperadoes, and terminated the war in that district.

In the fall of 1817, the family of Mr. Garrett, in East Florida, was attacked during his absence from home, and his wife and two children butchered. Soon after a man named McKrimnon was captured, and tied to the stake preparatory to being burned He was rescued only through the intercession of one Milly, daughter of the principal chief, Hillishago, who, like Poca-

hontas rushed toward her father, and implored him to spare the prisoner. Being subsequently ransomed, he married his deliverer.

In November, General Gaines, commander in Florida, received orders from Washington, to open negotiations with the Creeks, in order to transport them to the country ceded by the United States government. This the Indians refused to do; and when their chief, Hornetlimed, was summoned by the general to appear at the fort, he answered by a haughty defiance. Next day Major David E. Twiggs was sent against the fort with two hundred and fifty men. After repelling an attack on the road and killing several of the assailants, he reached the town and found it deserted.

After this affair, Gaines despatched Major Muhlenburg, from the head-quarters at Fort Scott, to Mobile, with three vessels, for the purpose of obtaining provisions. Beside the crew, he had on board a number of volunteers with their wives and children. Sickness obliged him to halt on the Appalachicola, where he was soon reinforced by forty men, under Lieutenant Scott. The major detached half of the crew, for his own use, and placing seven women, four children, and his sick on board the lieutenant's boat, he sent him back to Fort Scott. When near Flint river, the party were attacked by some savages under Hornetlimed, and all were killed except six soldiers, who escaped, and one woman made prisoner. The scalps were taken to the red pole at Mickasuky village and added to the number already there.

On receiving intelligence of this outrage, the secretary of war wrote to General Jackson, ordering him to repair immediately to Fort Scott and take charge of the war. Eight hundred men were given him, with authority to draw volunteers from the neighbouring states, should that number be insufficient for the campaign.

This communication reached General Jackson January 12th, 1818. He then issued a proclamation to the Tennessee volunteers, to join him in the coming campaign. This was effectual, and a number were soon on their way to Fort Scott. On the 9th of March, the general himself arrived there, having mus

tered on the road more than one thousand militia, mostly from Georgia. Finding the garrison very destitute of provisions, he determined to win supplies from the enemy, and on the 10th, pushed toward the Appalachicola. On the march he was joined by General Gaines, and built Fort Gadsden where the Indian fort had stood that was blown up by Colonel Clinch. Continuing his march, he was joined on the 1st of April by the Tennessee men. The same day he drove back a party of Indians, and took possession of their village. Numerous scalps were found strung upon the red war pole, and others in different wigwams.

About this time, a party numbering five hundred Indians and negroes surrounded the Spanish fort, St. Marks, and demanded its surrender. This place was one of great importance, being strongly built, and having served formerly as the main depot of the Indians, and scene of all their councils. As the Spanish garrison was very weak, Jackson determined to anticipate the enemy, and accordingly marched to the fort and took possession without opposition, sending the garrison and authorities to Pensacola. Here he captured the chiefs Hornet-limed and Hillishago, both of whom were hung. Arbuthnot was also captured.

After garrisoning the captured station, General Jackson proceeded against the Suwanee towns, where he arrived April 16th. After a slight resistance in which two Indians were taken and eleven killed, the settlement was taken, the huts destroyed, and some provisions secured. Two days after, Ambrister was captured. On the 22d a court of inquiry convened for the trial of this man and Arbuthnot, and, after six days' session, found them guilty of inciting the Indians to aggression, and gave as their opinion that they were worthy of death. General Jackson sentenced Arbuthnot to be hung, and Ambrister to be shot. The sentence was executed on the 29th. On the same day the general returned to Fort Gadsden.

Intelligence now arrived that the defeated Seminoles were mustering near Pensacola. It was also rumoured that they were assisted and encouraged by the Spanish garrison at that place. Although Spain was then at peace with the United States, Ge

neral Jackson resolved on marching into the territory, and capturing the garrrison at Pensacola. Accordingly he left Fort Gadsden on the 10th of May, at the head of twelve hundred men, and on the 22d arrived near Pensacola. On notifying the Spanish governor, he was ordered to quit the country. Disregarding this, he entered the city on the 24th, and immediately commenced operations for assaulting Fort Barrancas, whither the governor with his small force had retired. A bombardment of this was kept up until the 27th, when it surrendered, and the Spanish authorities were sent to Havana. Soon after General Jackson took possession of the whole territory, garrisoned different stations, and broke up all the Indian villages. He then retired to the Hermitage, in Tennessee, leaving the command with General Gaines, who, under his orders, speedily took possession of St. Augustine.

President Monroe, in his message of November, 1818, thus speaks of the condition of affairs in Spanish Florida:

"A state of things has existed in the Floridas, the tendency of which has been obvious to all who have paid the slightest attention to the progress of affairs in that quarter. Throughout the whole of those provinces to which the Spanish title extends, the government of Spain has scarcely been felt. Its authority has been confined almost exclusively to the walls of Pensacola and St. Augustine, within which only small garrisons have been maintained. Adventurers from every country, fugitives from justice, and absconding slaves, have found an asylum there. Several tribes of Indians, strong in the number of their warriors, remarkable for their ferocity, and whose settlements extend to our limits, inhabit those provinces. These different hordes of people, connected together, disregarding, on the one side, the authority of Spain, and protected by an imaginary line which separates Florida from the United States, have violated our laws prohibiting the introduction of slaves, have practised various frauds on our revenue, and committed every kind of outrage on our peaceable citizens, which their proximity to us enabled them to perpetrate. The invasion of Amelia Island last year by a small [illegible] ot exceeding one hundred and fifty [illegible] from the inconsiderable Spanish

force stationed there, and held it several months, during which a single effort only was made to recover it, which failed, clearly proves how completely extinct the Spanish authority had become; as the conduct of those adventurers while in possession of the island as distinctly shows the pernicious purposes for which their combination had been formed."

The forcible occupation of a neutral territory, elicited much attention in the United States, and subjected General Jackson to much censure. The government promptly surrendered the captured posts to the Spanish crown, but did not think proper to call the general to account for his actions. The Seminole war was, however, ended for that time; and the cession of Florida to the United States in 1819, put an end to all difficulties with Spain.




HISTORY
OF THE
WAR
WITH THE TRIBE OF
BLACK HAWK.



Black Hawk.

BLACK HAWK'S WAR.



FEW Indian chiefs have elicited more respect for their admirable qualities, or more sympathy for their misfortunes and patriotic sufferings, than Black Hawk. This chief was the very personification of an Indian brave, and his capability of planning a great enterprise, executing it, and rallying around him the united efforts of his people was fully displayed during the war to which he has given a name.

Black Hawk was born about the year 1767, on the Rock river, Illinois. At the age of fifteen he took a scalp from an enemy, and was in consequence promoted by his tribe to the rank of a brave. Engaging soon afterwards in an expedition against the Osages, he fought several battles, highly distinguished

himself, and brought back a number of trophies. As a reward he was permitted to participate in a great scalp dance, held by his nation in commemoration of victory. His reputation being thus established, he frequently led war parties against the enemies of his tribe, and was in almost every case successful. The influence and military knowledge which he thus acquired, were fitting him for a contest in which, though unfortunate, he was to acquire undying reputation.

The treaty concluded in 1804, by Governor Harrison, with the Sacs and Foxes, by which the latter ceded their lands east of the Mississippi, was executed by a few chiefs, without the knowledge or consent of the nation. Although this gave rise to much dissatisfaction among the Indians, no act of serious opposition took place, until the United States government erected Fort Madison upon the Mississippi. This at once revived their jealousies and an attempt was made to cut off the garrison. From that time the whites regarded the Indians as enemies, and were by no means scrupulous in their dealing or intercourse with them.

A short time previous to this, the admission of Illinois into the Union as a state had given a new cause for dispute. Attracted by the fertile soil of that rich territory, emigrants from all parts poured into it, and in a short time the land occupied by the Sacs and Foxes was completely surrounded by white settlers. These soon began to commit outrages upon their red neighbours, in order to hasten their departure from the ceded territory. In 1827, when the tribes were absent from home on a hunting excursion, some of the whites set fire to their village, by which forty houses were consumed. With commendable forbearance the Indians paid no apparent attention to this dishonourable act, but quietly rebuilt their dwellings. They raised the fences which had been broken down, and saved as much of their corn as was possible.

The American government now determined to sell the land occupied by these tribes, and they were accordingly advised to remove. Keokuk, the chief, with a majority of the nation determined to do so; but Black Hawk, and a party which he had gained over to himself, resolved to remain at all hazards.

Meanwhile the whites committed greater acts of violence upon the Indians than before. The latter at last took up arms, and a war would certainly have taken place, had not General Gaines, commander of the western division of the army, hastened to the scene of action. This able and prudent officer immediately convened a council of the principal chiefs, in which it was agreed that the Indians should instantly remove. They accordingly crossed the river and settled on its western bank. Notwithstanding this measure, a majority of the Indians were on peaceful terms with the United States. But Black Hawk and his band determined on returning to Illinois, alleging that they had been invited by the Potawatamies, residing on Rock river, to spend the summer with them and plant corn on their lands. They recrossed the river, and marched toward the above named Indians, but without attempting to harm any one upon the road. The traveller passed by them without receiving any injury, and the inmates of the lowly hut experienced no outrage. There is little doubt but this amicable disposition would have continued had not the whites been the first to shed blood. Five or six Indians, in advance of the main party, were captured, and excepting one who escaped, put to death by a battalion of mounted militia. That one brought the news to Black Hawk, who immediately determined on revenge. He accordingly planned an ambuscade into which the militia were enticed, fired upon, and fourteen of their number killed. The remainder fled in disorder.

As war had now begun, the Indians seemed resolved to do all the mischief in their power. Accordingly they divided into small parties, proceeded in different directions, and fell upon the settlements which were at that time thinly scattered over the greater part of Illinois. By this means they committed such outrages that the whole state was in the greatest excitement. Governor Reynolds ordered out two thousand additional militia, who, on the 10th of June, assembled at Hennepin, on the Illinois river, and were soon engaged in pursuit of the Indians.

On the 20th of May, 1832, a party attacked a small settlement on Indian Creek, killed fifteen persons, and took considerable plunder. On the 14th of June, five persons were killed near Galena. General Dodge being in the neighbourhood, imme-

diately marched with his mounted men in pursuit of the enemy. After advancing about three miles, he discovered twelve Indians, whom he supposed to be part of those who committed the murders. He commenced an active pursuit, and drove the Indians into a swamp. The mounted men rushed in and soon met them. No resistance was made; every Indian was killed, their scalps taken off and borne away in triumph.

Meanwhile General Atkinson was pursuing the main party, under Black Hawk, who was encamped near the Four Lakes. Instead of crossing the country to retreat beyond the Mississippi as was expected, he descended the Wisconsin, to escape in that direction, by which means General Dodge came upon his track, and commenced a vigorous pursuit. On the 21st of July, the general, with about two hundred men, besides Indians, overtook him on the Wisconsin, forty miles from Fort Winnebago. The Indians were in the act of crossing the river. After a short engagement they retreated, and it being dark the whites could not pursue them, without disadvantage to themselves. In this encounter Black Hawk's party lost, as is supposed, about forty men.

The Indians were now in a truly deplorable condition; several of them were greatly emaciated for want of food, and some even starved to death. In the pursuit previous to the battle, the soldiers found several lying dead on the road. Yet so far from being subdued they resolved to continue hostilities as long as they were able.

Meanwhile an army under General Scott, destined for the subjugation of Black Hawk, and the removal of all the northwestern Indians to lands beyond the Mississippi, had been attacked by an enemy far more fatal than the Indians. With about one thousand regular troops, Scott sailed from Buffalo in a fleet of steamboats, across Lake Erie for Chicago. This was early in July. On the 8th of that month, the Asiatic cholera appeared on board the vessel in which were General Scott, his staff, and two hundred and twenty soldiers. In six days fifty-two men died, and soon after eighty were put on shore sick at Chicago.

In the summer Scott left Chicago with but four hundred effective men, and hurrying on to the Mississippi, joined General



General Scott.

Atkinson at Prairie du Chien, immediately after the battle, near the Badare river, which resulted in the defeat of Black Hawk.

Previous to this affair, a captured squaw had informed the whites that Black Hawk intended to proceed to the west side of the Mississippi, above Prairie du Chien—the horsemen striking across the country, whilst the others proceeded by the Wisconsin. A number of the latter were made prisoners on the road.

Meanwhile, several circumstances transpired to prevent the escape of the main body under Black Hawk. The first was his falling in with the Warrior steamboat, (August 1st,) when in the act of crossing the Mississippi. Wishing to escape, he displayed two white flags, and about one hundred and fifty of his men came to the river without arms and made signs of submission. The commander of the boat ordered his men to fire, which they did, and the fire was returned. The engagement lasted an hour, when the wood of the steamboat failing, it proceeded to the Prairie. The Indians lost twenty-three killed, and a number wounded; the whites had one wounded.

Next day, after a toilsome and dangerous march, General Atkinson overtook Black Hawk, and immediately gave battle. Generals Posey and Alexander marched down the river with the right wing, and stationed themselves near the Indian encampment, in order to prevent a retreat. The battle lasted about three hours, the Indians disputing the ground with the greatest obstinacy. Their loss in killed and wounded was about two hundred; that of the Americans twenty-seven.

This action terminated the war, for although Black Hawk escaped, yet his men continually deserted him and came over to the whites. Finally the warrior himself surrendered to the American agent at Prairie du Chien. In his speech on this occasion, he regretted his being obliged to close the war so soon, without having given the whites much more trouble. He asserted that he had done nothing of which he had any reason to be ashamed, but that an Indian who was as bad as the white men would not be allowed to live in his community. He concluded as follows:

"Farewell, my nation! Black Hawk tried to save you, and revenge your wrongs. He drank the blood of some of the whites. He has been taken prisoner, and his plans are stopped. He can do no more. He is near his end. His sun is setting, and he will rise no more. Farewell to Black Hawk."

Immediately after this battle, General Scott, as we have mentioned, joined Atkinson, but their contemplated operations were for some weeks hindered by the dreadful scourge, which had already fearfully thinned the army. It was late in September, before the disease was driven from camp. Negotiations then commenced with the Sacs and Foxes, and were admirably conducted by General Scott, who obtained a region of five million acres from the Indians on terms satisfactory to both parties.

At the return of peace, Black Hawk was taken to Washington, where he had an interview with President Jackson. He was then conducted through the principal Atlantic cities, and every where received with the most marked attention and hospitality. He was then set at liberty and returned to his own nation. He died on the 3d of October, 1838, at his village on the Des Moines river.


HISTORY
OF THE
SECOND WAR
WITH
THE SEMINOLES.



Osceola.

THE FLORIDA WAR.



WHILE Florida was a Spanish province, it was a refuge for disaffected savages, whence a system of aggression was carried on against the United States. That, however, which is denominated by way of pre-eminence the Florida war, began in 1835. A treaty had been concluded with the Seminole warriors, by which they agreed to relinquish all the land for a certain sum, and to retire beyond the Mississippi. It was further stipulated that a party of Indians should visit the territory in question, and give their opinion concerning it. They accordingly proceeded thither, and on their return, reported [illegible] of the country.

Every thing now promised a speedy conformity to the wishes of the American government. But at this important moment, John Hext, one of the chief men of the tribe, who exerted over it a very great influence, died. This opportunity for self-aggrandizement was seized by the celebrated Osceola, or Powell, who quickly rose to the same importance as Hext himself. But he wielded it for far different purposes. He was utterly opposed to emigration, and by every art in his power, inflamed the minds of the people against that measure, and against the whites themselves. His conduct became at length so violent that he was arrested by the Indian agent, and put in irons; but on subsequently professing to renounce his opposition he was released.

On the 19th of July, 1835, five Indians, who, for the purpose of hunting, had met by appointment, near Hogstown settlement, were attacked by a party of white men, and flogged with cow-hide whips. While this was going on, two other Indians arrived, who raised the war-whoop and fired upon the whites. The firing was returned, one of the Indians killed and the other wounded. Three of the whites were also wounded.

On the evening of August 6th, Dalton, the mail carrier from Camp King to Tampa Bay, was murdered by a party of red men. When news of this outrage reached General Thompson, the Indian agent, he convened the principal chiefs, who promised to bring the offenders to justice. This was not done; and it soon became evident that a formidable opposition would in a little while burst forth against the settlers of Florida. The savages retired into the wilds and forests, collected arms, and avoided as much as possible all intercourse with the whites.

In September, Charley Amathla, a friendly chief of great influence, while journeying with his daughter was shot by some Mickasukies, led by Osceola. Similar outrages increased so fast, that the interior settlements were abandoned, families deserted the products of many years' labour and fled to other states, and the commandant of the region, General Clinch, was obliged to call on the government for larger forces to resist the Indians. The general's force numbered but two hundred and fifty men; and receiving no assistance from President Jackson, he obtained six nundred and fifty militia from the executive of Florida.

With this reinforcement he marched against the station on the Ouithlacoochee river.

On the 23d of December, the companies of Captains Gardiner and Frazer, of the United States army, marched, under the command of Major Dade, from Tampa Bay for Camp King. On the road, Dade wrote to Major Belton, urging him to forward a six-pounder, which had been left four miles behind, in consequence of the failure of the team which was to have been used in transporting it. Three horses were purchased with the necessary harness, and it joined the column that night. From this time no more was heard of the detachment until the 29th of December, when John Thomas, one of the soldiers, returned, and on the 31st, Rawson Clarke. The melancholy fate of his companions was related by the latter as follows:

"It was eight o'clock. Suddenly I heard a rifle shot in the direction of the advanced guard, and this was immediately followed by a musket shot from that quarter. Captain Frazer had ridden by me a moment before, in that direction. I never saw him afterwards. I had not time to think of the meaning of these shots before a volley, as if from a thousand rifles, was poured in upon us from the front, and all along our left flank. I looked around me, and it seemed as if I was the only one left standing in the right wing. Neither could I, until several other volleys had been fired at us, see an enemy—and when I did I could only see their heads and arms peering out from the long grass, far and near, and from behind the pine trees. The ground seemed to me an open pine barren, entirely destitute of any hammock. On our right and a little to our rear was a large pond of water some distance off. All around us were heavy pine trees, very open, particularly towards the left, and abounding with long high grass. The first fire of the Indians was the most destructive, seemingly killing or disabling one half of our men.

"We promptly threw ourselves behind trees, and opened a sharp fire of musketry. I for one, never fired without seeing my man, that is, his head and shoulders. The Indians chiefly fired lying or squatting in the grass. Lieutenant Bassinger fired five or six pounds of canister from the cannon. This appeared to frighten the Indians, and they retreated over a little hill to our

left, one-half or three-quarters of a mile off, after having fired not more than twelve or fifteen rounds. We immediately began to fell trees, and erect a little triangular breastwork. Some of us went forward to gather the cartridge boxes from the dead, and to assist the wounded. I had seen Major Dade fall to the ground by the first volley, and his horse dashed into the midst of the enemy. Whilst gathering the cartridges, I saw Lieutenant Mudge, sitting with his back reclining against a tree, and evidently dying. I spoke to him, but he did not answer. The interpreter, Louis, it is said, fell by the first fire.*

"We had barely raised our breastwork knee-high, when we again saw the Indians advancing, in great numbers, over the hill to our left. They came on boldly till within long musket-shot, when they spread themselves from tree to tree to surround us. We immediately extended as light infantry, covering ourselves by the trees, and opening a brisk fire from cannon and musketry. I do not think that the former could have done much mischief, the Indians were so scattered.

"Captain Gardiner, Lieutenant Bassinger, and Dr. Gatlen were the only officers left unhurt by the volley which killed Major Dade. Lieutenant Henderson had his left arm broken, but he continued to load and fire his musket, resting on the stump until he was finally shot down. Toward the close of the second attack, and during the day he kept up his spirits and cheered the men. Lieutenant Keyes had both his arms broken in the first attack; they were bound up and slung in a handkerchief, and he sat for the remainder of the day, until he was killed, reclining against the breastwork, his head often reposing upon it, regardless of every thing that was passing around him.

"Our men were by degrees all cut down. We had maintained a steady fire from eight until two P. M., and allowing three-quarters of an hour interval between the first and second attack, had been pretty busily engaged for more than five hours. Lieutenant Bassinger was the only officer left alive, and he severely wounded. He told me, as the Indians approached, to lie down

* This individual merely feigned death, and on being found by the Indians, was spared, and read to them all the despatches and letters found about the dead.



Massacre of Major Dade's Detachment.





Micanope.

and feign myself dead. I looked through the logs and saw the savages approaching in great numbers. A heavy made Indian of middle stature, painted down to the waist, and whom I supposed to have been Micanope, seemed to be the chief. He made them a speech, frequently pointing to the breastwork. At length they charged into the work. There was none to offer resistance, and they did not seem to suspect the wounded being alive—offering no indignity, but stepping about carefully, quietly stripping off our accoutrements, and carrying away our arms. They then retired in a body, in the direction from whence they came.

"Immediately after their retreat, forty or fifty negroes and Indians on horseback, galloped up, alighted, and having tied their beasts, commenced, with horrid shouts and yells, the butchering of the wounded, together with an indiscriminate plunder, stripping the dead of clothing, watches, and money, and splitting open the heads of all who showed the least signs of life with their axes and knives. This bloody work was accompanied with obscene and taunting derision, and oft repeated shouts.



LIEUTENANT BASSINGER, hearing the negroes and Indians butchering the wounded, at length sprang up, and asked them to spare his life. They met him with the blows of their axes and their fiendish laughter. Having been wounded in five different places myself, I was pretty well covered with blood; and two scratches that I had received on the head gave me the appearance of having been shot through the brain: for the negroes, after catching me up by the heels, threw me down, exclaiming that I was dead enough. Then, stripping me of my clothes, shoes, and hat, they left me. After serving all the dead in this manner they trundled off the cannon in the direction the Indians had gone, and went away. I saw them shoot down the oxen in their gear and burn the wagon.

"One of the other soldiers who escaped, says they threw the cannon in a pond, and burned its carriage also. Shortly after the negroes went away, one Wilson, of Captain Gardiner's company, crept from under some of the dead bodies, and seemed to be hardly hurt at all. He asked me to go with him back to the fort, and I was going to follow him, when, as he jumped over the breastwork, an Indian sprang from behind a tree and shot him down. I then lay quiet until nine o'clock that night, when D. Long, the only living soul beside myself, and I started upon our journey. We knew it was nearest to go to Fort King, but we did not know the way, and had seen the enemy retreat in that direction. As I came out I saw Dr. Gatlen lying stripped amongst the dead. The last I saw of him whilst living, was kneeling behind the breastwork, with two double-barrel guns by him, and he said, 'Well, I have got four barrels for them!' Captain Gardiner, after being severely wounded, cried out, 'I can give you no more orders, my lads, do your best!' I last

saw a negro spurn his body, saying with an oath, 'that's one of their officers.'

"My comrade and myself got along quite well until the next day, when we met an Indian on horseback, armed with a rifle, coming up the road. Our only chance was to separate—we did so. I took the right and he the left of the road. The Indian pursued him. Shortly afterwards I heard a rifle shot, and a little after another. I concealed myself among some scrub, and saw palmetto, and after awhile saw the Indian pass looking for me. Suddenly, however, he put spurs to his horse, and went off at a gallop towards the road.

"I made something of a circuit before I struck the beaten track again. That night I was a good deal annoyed by the wolves, who had scented my blood, and came very close to me The next day, the 30th, I reached the fort."

Thus perished one hundred and six men, under circumstances of hopelessness and misery, rarely equalled in modern warfare. Intelligence of this tragic event spread a degree of horror throughout the country, lasting and powerful; and even at the present day, the name of the gallant, ill-fated Dade, is a spell-word to conjure up feelings of sorrow. Three of the whole command escaped.

Soon after this affair, (January 6th, 1836,) thirty Indians attacked the family of Mr. Cooly, on New river, while he was absent from home. They murdered Mrs. Cooly, three children, and Mr. Flinton their teacher. During this transaction, the neighbouring families made their escape into the more thickly settled territory. The fact that Cooly had long resided among the Indians, learned their language, and always treated them with kindness, renders this massacre more atrocious.

Previous to this, (December 31st,) General Clinch had had a severe engagement with the savages, near the Ouithlacoochee river. On the 29th, he had marched from Fort King with a considerable force. At four o'clock in the morning, (31st,) after leaving all his baggage, provisions, &c., protected by a guard, under Lieutenant Dancy, he pushed toward the ford, intending to surprise the main body of the Indians who were supposed to be concentrated on the west bank. On reaching it about day-

light, he found instead of a good ford, a deep and rapid stream, and no means of crossing except in an old and damaged canoe. Undismayed by these difficulties, the troops entered the boat with alacrity, the dragoons swimming their horses. When about one half had succeeded in gaining the opposite bank, the battalion of regulars, consisting of about two hundred men, were attacked by the enemy, led by Osceola, and strongly posted in the swamp and scrub, which extended from the river. This little band, aided by Colonel Warren, Major Cooper, and Lieutenant Yeoman, with twenty-seven volunteers, met the attack of the savage enemy, nearly three times their number, with Spartan valour. The action lasted nearly an hour, during which time the troops made three brilliant charges into the swamp and scrub, driving the enemy in every direction; and although after the last charge nearly one-third of their number had been cut down, they were found sufficiently firm and steady to form a new line of battle, which gave entire protection to the flanks and position of crossing. No inducement could prevail on the remainder of the army to cross the river, and assist their companions.



MEANWHILE the eastern settlements in the neighbourhood of San Augustin were ravaged by the enemy, many of the inhabitants slain, and the negroes carried away. So disastrous were these ravages, that in East Florida, five hundred families were driven from their homes, and their entire possessions destroyed by the Indians.

During these transactions, General Gaines, commander of the southern division of the United States army, was actively engaged in raising a body of troops sufficient to suppress all opposition. He reached Fort King on the 22d of February, and whence moved down the Ouithlacoochee. On the 27th, he had a slight skirmish with the enemy at General Clinch's crossing-place, where he lost one killed and eight wounded. Next day the army was again attacked, Lieutenant Izard mortally wounded, one man killed and two others wounded. Skirmishing was renewed on the 29th, one man killed and thirty-three wounded.

The general himself received a shot in his lower lip. This partisan warfare was continued until the 5th of March, three men were wounded on the 2d of that month, and on the 4th, one killed and two wounded.

On the 5th, a number of Indians, headed by Osceola, appeared before General Gaines's camp, and expressed their willingness to terminate hostilities. They were told that on condition of retiring south of the Ouithlacoochee, and attending a council when called on by the United States commissioners, they should not be molested. To this they agreed; but at this moment General Clinch, who had been summoned by express from Fort Drane, encountered their main body; and supposing themselves surrounded by deliberate stratagem, they fled with precipitation. This unfortunate accident put an end to negotiations for that time. Soon after, ascertaining that he had been superseded, General Gaines transferred the command to General Clinch, who retired with his whole force to Fort Drane.

General Scott now received the chief command in Florida, and commenced a new plan of operations, which, as is believed, would have speedily terminated the war; but unexpectedly he was superseded, and summoned to Washington on court-martial. His trial eventuated in full, honourable acquittal from all blame, but meanwhile he had been superseded by General Jessup. The measures of this officer were unimportant.

The summer and fall of 1837 passed away without any prospect of a reconciliation with the Indians; but in December, Colonel Z. Taylor, who commanded a regiment of Jessup's troops, came upon the trail of the Indians, and commenced a vigorous pursuit. On the 25th, at the head of about five hundred men, he came up with about seven hundred Indians, on the banks of the Okee-cho-bee lake, under the celebrated chiefs, Alligator, Sam Jones, and Coacoochee. This battle was sought by both parties. On the day previous to the engagement, the colonel had received a challenge from Alligator, informing him of his position, and courting an attack. The Indians were posted in a thick swamp, covered in front by a small stream, whose quicksands rendered it almost impassable. Through this the Americans waded, sometimes sinking to the waist in mud and water,

and totally unable to employ their horses. On reaching the borders of the hammock, the advance received a heavy fire, which killed their leader, (Colonel Gentry,) and drove them back in confusion. The main body then rushed into action, attacking the enemy under a galling fire, and fought from half-past twelve until three P. M., although exposed to the full range of the enemy's fire. With one exception, every officer in the 6th infantry was shot down, and one of the companies had but four members untouched. The Indians were forced from their position, and driven a considerable distance toward the extremity of Okee-cho-bee lake.

Colonel Taylor thus describes the appearance of the battle-field, together with his operations immediately subsequent to the action:

"Here I trust I may be permitted to say that I experienced one of the most trying scenes of my life, and he who could have looked on it with indifference, his nerves must have been differently organized from my own. Besides the killed, (twenty-six in number,) there lay one hundred and twelve wounded officers and soldiers, who had accompanied me one hundred and forty-five miles, most of the way through an unexplored wilderness, without guides, who had so gallantly beaten the enemy under my orders, in his strongest position, and who had to be conveyed back through swamps and hammocks, from whence we set out without any apparent means of doing so. This service, however, was encountered and overcome, and they have been conveyed thus far, 'Fort Gardiner,' and proceeded on to Tampa Bay, on rude litters, constructed with the axe and knife alone, with poles and dry hides—the latter being found in great abundance at the encampment of the hostiles. The litters were carried on the backs of our weak and tottering horses, aided by the residue of the command, with more ease and comfort to the sufferers than I could have supposed possible, and with as much as they could have been in ambulances of the most improved and modern construction. * * * * * * * *

"We left our encampment on the morning of the 27th for the Kissamee, where I had left my heavy baggage, which place we reached about noon on the 28th. After leaving two companies



Battle of Okee-cho-bee.

and a few Indians to garrison the stockade, which I found nearly completed on my return, by that active and vigilant officer, Captain Monroe, 4th artillery. I left the next morning for this place, where I arrived on the 31st, and sent forward the wounded next day to Tampa Bay, with the 4th and 6th infantry, the former to halt at Fort Frazer, remaining here myself with the 1st, in order to make preparations to take the field again as soon as my horses can be recruited, most of which have been sent to Tampa, and my supplies in a sufficient state of forwardness to justify the measure."



IN consequence of this battle, Colonel Taylor was enabled to advance further into the Indian country than any previous commander had done. So difficult, however, was the transportation of supplies, that the Seminoles were still able to maintain their old fastnesses among swamps and forests, thus rendering their complete removal, and the consequent termination of the war, impracticable. Soon after the battle the rank of brevet brigadier-general was conferred upon Taylor, and in April, 1838, he was appointed to the chief command in Florida. He had several small skirmishes with the Indians, but could never again force them to a general battle. Bloodhounds were finally employed by the army in order to trace the enemy's hiding-places; but after a full trial they were found totally incompetent, and consequently abandoned.

The most heart-rending barbarities were committed about this time by the savages. A Mr. Gray, with one of his children was shot while sitting in the house with his family. A second child shared the same fate, and a third was bayoneted. On another occasion a little boy was shot, and his father wounded. Soon after a whole family were killed, and afterwards burned with their dwelling. About the same time a widow and five children were butchered. The following extracts, from the journals of that period, describe further atrocities:

"On Saturday night between nine and ten o'clock, the family of Mr. Green Chairs, about ten miles from town, (Tallahassee,)

was attacked by the Indians. Mrs. Chairs was sitting by the table sewing, surrounded by her interesting family, consisting of her husband and six children. An Indian rifle was fired and Mrs. Chairs fell dead. Mr. Chairs instantly sprang up, and seizing his rifle, closed the doors and windows, and determined to defend his dwelling. He directed the four elder children to make their escape by the back door. One of them, a young lady of seventeen, was seen and pursued by the savages, but wearing a black cloak, she was enabled to conceal herself in some bushes. Mr. Chairs at the same time discovered that the house had been fired; and so rapid was the progress of the flames, that this new danger and the consternation produced by the death of his wife, caused him to forget his two youngest children. He fled, leaving them—and both helpless infants were burned to cinders with his dwelling and all it contained."

"Two wagons," says the Tallahassee Star "left Fort Frank Brook, on Monday, (July, 1839,) and after proceeding a short distance, they were fired upon by Indians, from a hammock, and two men killed. The body of one was afterwards found horribly mutilated, with the eyes dug out, the throat cut, and otherwise disfigured. The body of the other could not be found."

About the same time a small command under Colonel Harney were attacked by a large body of Indians. The particulars of this affair are thus given in a cotemporary journal, dated Garey's Ferry, East Florida, August, 1839:

"On the 28th of July, four dragoons, two wounded, arrived here, and reported the massacre of a large body of Colonel Harney's command, who were sent to the Caloosahatchee to establish a trading-house in conformity with Macomb's treaty. The Indians had for some time manifested the most friendly dispositions, daily visiting the camp, and trading with the sutler. So completely had they lulled the troops into security, that no defense was erected and no guard maintained. The camp was on the margin of the river. At dawn on the 23d of July, the enemy made a simultaneous attack on the camp and the trading-house. Those who escaped the first discharge fled naked to the river, and effected their escape in some fishing smacks. Colonel Harney was among them. The sergeant and four others,

while descending the river, were called to the shore by a well known Indian, who spoke English well, with the assurance that they would not be harmed. They complied, and were instantly butchered. Altogether eighteen were killed. Colonel Harney afterwards cautiously approached the spot, and found eleven bodies shockingly mutilated, and two hundred and fifty Indians in the neighbourhood, dancing and whooping in savage triumph."

The particulars of another massacre perpetrated in 1840, are thus given by a St. Augustine paper:

"It becomes again our mournful duty to record the successful effusion of blood in this ill-fated territory, and the triumphant accomplishment on the part of the Indians of an adventure bordering on romance. Indian Key, a small spot of not over seven acres in extent, about thirty miles from our main land, on our southern Atlantic coast, was invested by seventeen boats, containing Indians, seven of its inhabitants murdered, the island plundered, and its buildings burned.

"About two o'clock on the morning of the 7th instant, a Mr. Glass, in the employ of Mr. Houseman, happening to be up, saw boats approaching, and informed a person in the same employ, when they passed into Mr. Houseman's garden and were satisfied that the boats contained Indians. The Indians now commenced firing upon the house of Mr. Houseman, and Dr. Perrine, the former of whom with his family, and Mr. Charles Howe and his family succeeded in escaping to boats and crossed over to Tea-table Key. The family of Dr. Perrine passed through a trap door into their bathing-room, from whence they got into the turtle crawl, and by great efforts removed the logs and escaped to the front of Houseman's store. They then went to a boat at the wharf which six Indians had partly filled, and were in the store after a further supply. They then pushed off and pulled with an oar, a paddle, and poles toward the schooner Medium. When they had rowed a mile, they were met by a boat and taken to the schooner.

"Mr. Motte and wife, and Mrs. Johnson, a lady of seventy years of age, fled into an out-house, from whence Mrs. Motte was dragged by an Indian, and while in the act of calling on her

husband, 'John, save me!' she was killed. Mr. Motte shared the same fate, and was scalped; but the old lady, as she was dragged forth, suddenly jerking from the Indian, broke his hold and escaped under a house. Her grandchild, a daughter of Mrs. Motte, aged four years, was then killed with a club, and the infant strangled and thrown into the water. This was seen by Mrs. Johnson from her hiding-place; but the Indians firing the building, she was again forced to flee, and after secreting herself under Malony's wharf, was finally rescued. James Sturdy, a boy about eleven years of age, hid himself in the cistern under Mr. Houseman's house, and was scalded to death by the burning building heating the water. The remains of an adult skeleton were found among the ruins of Dr. Perrine's house, supposed to be the doctor, as well as that of a child, thought to have been a slave of Mr. Houseman.

"The Indians were what is known as Spanish Indians, and were headed by Chekekia, the same chief who led the party that massacred the men at Caloosahatchee. They obtained a great amount of plunder from the houses and stores; and whilst engaged in obtaining these articles, Mrs. Perrine, with her two daughters and a little son, reached a boat partially loaded, and put off to the schooner Medium, lying at some distance. They were promptly rescued by a boat coming to their assistance, and were taken to the schooner.



N Mr. Houseman reaching Tea-table Bay, Midshipman Murray, United States Navy, started with his only available force of fifteen men and two swivels. Ten of the men were in hospital, so sick as to be certainly unfit for duty; but on urging their claim were permitted to accompany the others, hoping to cut off the boats, and thus prevent the escape of the Indians. On the second fire of his guns, they recoiled overboard, and the Indians then commenced a fire upon his boat, from a six-pounder belonging to Mr. Houseman, charged with musket-balls, and drove back this active officer.

"Communication was immediately despatched to Lieutenant McLaughlin, who was at Key Biscayne, with the United States schooners Flirt and Ostego and they proceeded down. The Indians, however, had escaped, after maintaining possession of the island twelve hours, carrying off large quantities of powder and other articles, and laying the little settlement in ashes. All escaped save the unfortunates named above.

"Among all the bold and lawless feats which have characterized the enemy during the war, there is nothing that will bear comparison with this. We have seen the murdered remains of the citizen and soldier almost within sight of the garrison, when the white flag of overture was waving to these inhuman rascals in acts of kindness. We have seen the armed rider stricken by the bullet from the covert of the hammock, and the carriage of the traveller made to receive the last life-blood of its occupant. We have seen the faithlessness of the tribe, even when the humanity of the white man was devising every means for its comfort, planning their accursed schemes of murder, and Caloosahatchee, the ground of confidence and good will, red with the blood of our troops and citizens. But an island we had thought safe. As little would we have looked for an avalanche amid the sands of Arabia, or the glowing warmth of the equator amid Greenland's icy mountains, as an attack from Indians upon an island. A force, too, of seventeen canoes, averaging five men each, make a voyage of at least thirty miles from the main land, ransack, pillage, and destroy, and return in safety!"

In 1840, General Taylor requested permission to retire from Florida, which was granted, and in April, General Armistead was appointed to succeed him. The operations of this officer were necessarily of the same tedious and unsatisfactory character as most of his predecessors had been, and in May, 1841, he was succeeded by Colonel Worth.

This officer commenced the campaign under very unfavourable circumstances, having no less than twelve hundred men sick and unfit for duty. On assuming command he is said to have named the 1st of January, 1842, as the time when he hoped to bring the war to a close.

In August the famous chief, Wild Cat, surrendered his whole band, including Coacoochee and his family, at Tampa. On the 13th the example was followed by a considerable number of Hospitaki's party, and next month by many of the Tallahassee tribe. Subsequently, various chiefs and their bands were regularly brought in.

Nothing, however, of a decisive nature took place until the 19th of April, 1842, when Colonel Worth found the enemy in considerable force, strongly fortified, near Okeehumphee swamp. An immediate attack was made and the Indians totally defeated. Every trail made in their flight was taken and pursued until dark, and renewed on the following morning, the detachments marching each day, some twenty and some thirty miles. The scene of this battle was the big hammock of Palaklaklaha. As a reward for his services in this affair, Worth was brevetted by government, brigadier-general. Soon after, (May 4th,) Hallush-Tustemuggee, with eighty of his band, came to Palatka and submitted, and on the 12th of August, Colonel Worth announced in general orders, that the Florida war was ended. This assertion, however, was premature, for hostilities again recommenced, and Worth received the surrender of a large body of Creeks at Tampa.

The battle of Palaklaklaha was the last important incident of the Florida war. Its close was thus announced by President Tyler, in his message of December 7th, 1842.

"The vexatious, harassing, and expensive war which so long prevailed with the Indian tribes inhabiting the peninsula of Florida, has happily been terminated: whereby our army has been relieved from a service of the most disagreeable character, and the treasury from a large expenditure. Some casual outbreaks may occur, such as are incident to the close proximity of border settlements and the Indians; but these, as in all other cases, may be left to the care of the local authorities, aided, when occasion may require, by the forces of the United States. A sufficient number of troops will be maintained in Florida, so long as the remotest apprehension of danger shall exist; yet their duties will be limited rather to the garrisoning of the necessary posts than to the maintenance of active hostilities. It is to be h l



Battle of Palakhakisha.

that a territory so long retarded in its growth, will now speedily recover from the evils incident to a protracted war, exhibiting in the increased amount of its rich productions, true evidences of returning wealth and prosperity. By the practice of rigid justice towards the numerous Indian tribes, residing within our territorial limits, and the exercise of parental vigilance over their interests, protecting them against fraud and intrusion, and at the same time using every proper expedient to introduce among them the arts of civilized life, we may fondly hope, not only to wean them from the love of war, but to inspire them with a love of peace and all its avocations. With several of the tribes, great progress in civilizing them has already been made. The schoolmaster and the missionary are found side by side, and the remains of what were once numerous and powerful nations may yet be preserved as the builders up of a new name for themselves and their posterity."

The war with the Seminoles in Florida, was certainly the most unsatisfactory, and least glorious one, in which our country has ever been engaged. Millions of dollars were expended upon it, without any apparent result. The ablest generals of the country, those who had won laurels from Wellington's veterans, many years before, and have since overthrown army after army in Mexico, were baffled and enervated; the government was disgraced at home and abroad; and a handful of roving, plundering savages, rendered one of the finest portions of our territory almost uninhabitable, and its name a spell-word of terror, which even now frequently lingers on the ear, as the remembrance of some distressing dream. The leader of the Indians, Osceola, notwithstanding his being compared with the unfortunate hero of Mount Hope, was, at best, a drunken, lawless vagabond, despised by many of the savages themselves. Most of his followers were like himself, and almost all the hordes, who were active in their outrages upon the whites, were composed of Indians and runaway negroes.

There is, however, much reason to believe that the Florida war was hastened, perhaps actually caused by the imprudence of the whites themselves. Individual licenses, committed in direct opposition to the will of [illegible] and without its

knowledge, led to acts of retaliation. These in turn were revenged, until parties assumed an attitude to which the only alternative was war. For some time these petty outrages were merely regarded as ordinary murders, without any train of eventful circumstances; and thus the Indians were enabled to plan their schemes, and select the most favourable fastnesses for security. But the massacre of Dade's command roused the country from its lethargy. The warning, however, had come too late; and what might have been accomplished without bloodshed, if attempted in time, had now grown utterly unmanageable.

All the Florida Indians are now transported to the Indian territory, and the possibility of another "Florida War" for ever obviated.




HISTORY
OF THE
WAR
WITH
MEXICO.



Corpus Christi.

WAR WITH MEXICO.

CHAPTER I.

Commencement of the Mexican War.



THE federal form of government was abolished in Mexico, in the year 1835, in consequence of a revolution, which transferred the direction of affairs to General Santa Anna. As military dictator, this officer abolished the state governments, together with the privilege of representatives in the general congress, and formed the whole nation into a central or consolidated republic, of which each state became a department. The people of Texas and part of Tamaulipas declared this measure unconstitutional, and when their protestations were disregarded, arose in open revolution

By aid of volunteer adventurers from the United States, they defeated Santa Anna at San Jacinto, (April 21st, 1836,) and soon after established a government of their own, similar to that of the United States. Mexico, however, refused to acknowledge their independence, and continued to make efforts for the recovery of her lost territory.

In 1837, the congress of Texas expressed their desire to be admitted as a state into the American Union; but the proposal was at that time rejected by the latter. The scheme, however, was revived under the administration of President Tyler, by whom it was very favourably entertained; but a treaty to that purpose, signed by commissioners of both nations, was rejected by the United States senate. The measure, however, was finally passed by the latter body, (March 1st, 1845,) on certain conditions. In the ensuing summer these were accepted by the Texan congress, and thus the nationality of the infant republic became merged in that of its powerful rival.

Meanwhile Mexico was no idle spectator. When she became satisfied that the project of annexation was seriously entertained by the American legislature, her minister at Washington was instructed to use all possible means to prevent the consummation of the act. This duty he faithfully performed; and when advised that his representations had been useless—that the resolution of annexation had passed the senate, he announced his mission closed, declaring the scheme of annexation "an act of aggression the most unjust which can be found recorded in the annals of modern history; namely that of despoiling a friendly nation, like Mexico, of a considerable portion of her territory." He returned to Mexico, and for awhile all intercourse with the United States was closed. So strong was the popular feeling against the measure, that President Herrera, who favoured an adjustment of the difficulty by treaty, was compelled to resign, and General Paredes elected to succeed him.

In September, President Polk authorized an inquiry of the Mexican government if it would be willing to receive a minister extraordinary, invested with ample powers for a termination of difficulties. To this request the Mexican congress acceded, asking, meanwhile, that during the proposed negotiations, the

American gulf squadron should be withdrawn from Vera Cruz. This being done, Mr. Slidell, the American envoy, proceeded to Mexico. Unfortunately, this was about the time that General Paredes assumed command, and the unsettled condition of the country, together with other events, caused that functionary to withdraw assent for the intended negotiations, on the pretence that as Mr. Slidell had been authorized to attend to the settlement of former difficulties concerning Mexican outrages, his mission was not *specially* confined to the Texas question.

On the 1st of March, 1846, Mr. Slidell requested of the Mexican government an acknowledgment of his official character. This was refused, and he returned to the United States.

Meanwhile President Polk determined on sending an armed force into the territory of Texas, in order to protect it from an anticipated invasion. His message of December, 1845, thus announces this measure to congress:

"Both the congress and the convention of the people of Texas invited this government to send an army into their territory, to protect and defend them against a menaced attack. The moment the terms of annexation offered by the United States were accepted by Texas, the latter became so far a part of our country as to make it our duty to afford such protection and defense. I therefore deemed it proper, as a precautionary measure, to order a strong squadron to the coast of Mexico, and to concentrate a sufficient military force on the western frontier of Texas. Our army was ordered to take positions in the country between the Nueces and the Del Norte, and to repel any invasion of the Texan territory, which might be attempted by the Mexican forces.

"Our squadron in the gulf was ordered to co-operate with the army. But though our army and navy were placed in a position to defend our own and the rights of Texas, they were ordered to commit no act of hostility against Mexico, unless she declared war, or was herself the aggressor by striking the first blow. * * * * * * * * * *

"When orders were given during the past summer for concentrating a military force on the western frontier of Texas, our troops were widely dispersed, and in small detachments occupy-

ing posts remote from each other. The prompt and expeditious manner in which an army, embracing more than one half of our peace establishment, was drawn together, on an emergency so sudden, reflects great credit on the officers who were intrusted with the execution of these orders, as well as upon the discipline of the army itself."

The presence of this force, in Texas, was no doubt one reason for the rejection of Mr. Slidell.

On the 21st of March, 1845, General Zachary Taylor was appointed commander-in-chief of the "Corps of Observation," with orders to hold the forces under his command, ready to enter Texas whenever directed. On the 15th of June he was apprized of the probable speedy acceptance of the terms of annexation by the Texan congress, and received orders of a confidential nature to enter the annexed territory. The instructions to this effect (written by Mr. Bancroft, during the sickness of Secretary Marcy) were as follows:

"In anticipation of that event, [the above-mentioned action of the Texan congress,] you will forthwith make a forward movement with the troops under your command, and advance to the mouth of the Sabine, or to such other point on the Gulf of Mexico, or its navigable waters, as in your judgment will be most convenient for an embarkation, at the proper time, for the western frontier of Texas. * * * * * * The point of your ultimate destination is the western frontier of Texas, where you will select and occupy on or near the Rio Grande del Norte, such a site as will consist with the health of your troops, and will be best adapted to repel an invasion, and to protect, what, in the event of annexation, will be our western border. You will limit yourself to the defense of the territory of Texas, unless Mexico should declare war against the United States."

In August General Taylor marched with all his forces to Corpus Christi, where he remained until March 11th of the next year, when, under instructions from the war department, he broke up his camp and pushed forward for the Rio Grande. At the Arroyo Colorado he was met by a party of stragglers, who appeared disposed to oppose his crossing; but no opposition was actually offered. On the 24th, he took undisputed possession of



Point Isabel.

Point Isabel. Previous to this he had been met by a deputation, protesting against his march, and threatening war if it were persisted in. Some buildings at the point were fired by the Mexicans, but the conflagration was arrested by Colonel Twiggs. Leaving at this place four hundred and fifty men, with ten cannon and ample supplies of powder and ball, under Major John Munroe, General Taylor continued his advance. On the 28th he erected the national flag on the banks of the Rio Grande, opposite Matamoras.

On the following day Brigadier-General Worth, with his staff, crossed the river, with despatches to the municipal authorities. He was met by a Mexican delegation, the reception of the papers declined, and his request of an interview with the American consul refused.

This unpropitious affair was but the commencement of difficulties. Immediately after, all communication with General Taylor was closed, and symptoms of approaching war daily multiplied. In order to prepare for it, General Taylor commenced the erection of a fort, to be defended by extensive works, More than one thousand men were employed upon it night and day. This redoubt, under the name of Fort Brown, subsequently

became famous for its successful defense against the bombardment of the enemy, and for the death of its defender, Major Jacob Brown.

The death of Colonel Truman Cross, the first victim of the Mexican war, occurred on the 10th of April. This officer was in the habit of riding out every morning for the purpose of exercise, and on this occasion was observed to remain from camp longer than usual. This circumstance occasioned many fears in camp, especially as the country was known to abound in numbers of lawless rancheros, who respected neither friend nor foe. Small parties were despatched in every direction, but without being able to obtain any information of him. General Taylor wrote to the authorities of Matamoras, but they avowed their entire ignorance of the colonel's fate. Eleven days passed in a state of suspense, mingled with the faint hope that notwithstanding the protestations of the Mexicans, he was a prisoner in Matamoras.

On the 21st, the melancholy truth was ascertained. A straggler entered camp, and stated that the body of an American officer lay at some distance off. He guided a party to a thicket, in which lay the colonel's remains. The spot was at a short distance from a road leading near the river. The body had been stripped, and the flesh torn from it by vultures. The remains were recognized principally by the teeth, scalp, the stock, and one shoulder strap. He is said to have been surrounded by a party, commanded by the notorious Romano Falcon. The men were anxious to carry him into Mexico, but to this their leader objected, and on finding his followers resolute, he shot the colonel with a pistol.

The remains were interred with military honours on the 26th. The funeral escort was composed of a squadron of dragoons and eight companies of infantry, the whole superintended by Colonel Twiggs. It was a solemn pageant, witnessed by thousands of friends and foes, and threw a deep melancholy over the whole American army. "The high rank of the deceased," says General Taylor, in his order of the previous day, "and the ability and energy which he carried into the discharge of the important duties of his office, will cause his loss to be severely felt in the

service; while the untoward circumstances of his demise will render it peculiarly afflicting to his family and personal friends."

When news of this event reached the United States it caused much excitement. All felt it to be but the prelude to that wholesale slaughter, inseparable from the fearful policy of a national appeal to arms. Niles's National Register thus notices it:

"War is a horrible evil. The news of the death of the first victim in this new war into which our country is plunged, has brought with it a deepening sense of the evils, inseparable from the mad conflict of man with man, be the occasion what it may. An acquaintance formed in early life—a warm and steadfast friend from the commencement of that acquaintance, a generous, open-hearted, ardent, intelligent and talented man—one who was in all attributes a man among men—is the first victim. His father forty years since, through many an ardent struggle, political and national, was shoulder to shoulder with us in war, with arms in his hand, and in peace or war, with as ardent patriotism at heart as ever animated a citizen or a republican. His son is snatched from our hopes as well as from a wide circle of friends, and from his own wife, now widowed and left with her orphans to a life—how desolate and lonely! Wreaths may encircle the brow of victors in the coming contest; but what shall compensate for sufferings of which this is but a type of what must be the price at which they are purchased.

Previous to this (April 11th) General Ampudia entered Matamoras with large reinforcements, and assumed supreme command. The occasion was one of exultation to the inhabitants. On the following day he addressed a note to General Taylor, requesting him to break up his camp and march for the Rio Nueces within twenty-four hours. It concludes as follows:

"If you insist in remaining upon the soil of the department of Tamaulipas, it will clearly result that arms, and arms alone, must decide the question; and in that case I advise you that we accept the war to which with so much injustice on your part you provoke us, and that on our part this war shall be coveted conformably to the principles of the most civilized nations: that is to say, that the laws of nations and of war shall be the guide of my operations; trusting that on your part the same will be observed."

In his answer to the above, General Taylor replied, "The instructions under which I am acting, will not permit me to retrograde from the position I now occupy. In view of the relations between our respective governments, and the individual suffering which may result, I regret the alternative which you offer; but at the same time wish it understood, that I shall by no means avoid such alternative, leaving the responsibility with those who rashly commence hostilities."

Ampudia did not attempt the enforcement of his threat, and General Taylor continued the strengthening of his fortifications. "We have a field-work under way," he observes in a letter, "besides having erected a strong battery and a number of buildings for the security of our supplies, in addition to some respectable works for their protection. We have mounted a respectable battery, two pieces of which are long eighteen-pounders, with which we could batter or burn down the city of Matamoras, should it become necessary to do so. When our field-work is completed and mounted with its proper armament, five hundred men could hold it against as many thousand Mexicans. * *

"Fronting each other, and for an extent of more than two miles, and within musket range are batteries shotted, and the officers and men, in many instances, waiting impatiently for orders to apply the matches; yet nothing has been done to provoke the firing of a gun, or any act of violence."

The death of Lieutenant Porter, who was killed (April 17th) by some Mexicans while searching for the body of Colonel Cross, tended to exasperate the Americans still further against the enemy. The occurrence is thus described by an officer of the general's camp.

Lieutenant Dobbins, 3d infantry, and Lieutenant Porter, of the 4th, left camp on the 17th instant, each with a detachment of two non-commissioned officers and ten privates, to reconnoiter the surrounding country, from ten to twenty miles, in search of a band of robbers known to have been in that vicinity, and who were supposed to have murdered Colonel Cross, and also to learn, if possible something of his fate. The two parties took different directions. It rained hard during the night. On the second day Lieutenant Porter met a party of Mexicans, one of whom snapped

his piece at him. In return he discharged both barrels of his gun at the Mexican, who disappeared in the thorny thicket. The Americans captured the camp of the marauders, ten horses, saddles, &c.

"This was at noon of the 19th, about eighteen miles above General Taylor's camp, and six from the Rio del Norte. The lieutenant continued his search, and about four P. M. of the same day, fell in with another party of Mexicans, which, probably, had been joined by those whom he had already left. It was now raining heavily. The Americans were fired on and one of their privates killed. They made an attempt to return the fire, but their powder had been wetted, and they were exposed to the full range of the enemy without the ability to defend themselves. The lieutenant, as was reported by his sergeant, made a sign with his hand for his men to extend to the right. The party thus became separated in the thickets. The sergeant and four privates returned to camp on the 20th, and gave the above account.

"A detachment of thirty dragoons was despatched early the next morning to reconnoiter the position, and search for Lieutenant Porter and those of his party who were missing. They returned the same night, without having learned any thing of them, the thickets being so dense that it was impossible for horses to move through them. They, however, fell in with Lieutenant Dobbins, who said that he would continue to look for Lieutenant Porter a day or two longer. The next day, about noon, the corporal and three men of the lieutenant's party returned, saying that they feared he had been killed. One of them stated that he had seen him fall from his horse; and another that he dismounted and staggered towards a thicket while volleys of musketry were pouring around him."

A letter, dated the 24th, gives the following additional particulars:

"The whole of Lieutenant Porter's party have returned to camp, except himself and the soldier who was killed by the first fire of the Mexicans, in the rencounter of the 19th. Private Arns, who came in last of the company, states that he was within five or six feet of Lieutenant Porter when he fell. He received a ball which penetrated his thigh, and no doubt parted the artery

He immediately laid down, and expired very soon afterwards. The soldier previously killed lay within five yards of him.

"Private Arns remained near the bodies of the lieutenant and the soldier for some time, concealed in the dense thicket, and hoping that relief would come to bear the bodies away. He was at last obliged to make his own way to camp."

On the same day, (April 17th,) two American schooners bound for Matamoras were warned off the coast by General Taylor, and the mouth of the Rio Grande declared to be in a state of blockade. This proceeding drew forth an angry letter from Ampudia, who threatened serious results in case of its being persisted in. The reply of the general was firm but temperate. He entered at length into all the circumstances of mutual importance which had transpired since his march from Corpus Christi, asserting the blockade to be but a necessary consequence of the state of war, declared to exist by Ampudia himself; and that inasmuch as the measure had been reported to government, he could not remove it unless under orders therefrom. He concluded as follows:

"In conclusion I take leave to state that I consider the tone of your communication highly exceptionable, where you stigmatize the movement of the army under my orders as 'marked with the seal of universal reprobation.' You must be aware that such language is not respectful in itself, either to me or my government; and while I observe in my own correspondence the courtesy due to your high position, and to the magnitude of the interests with which we are respectively charged, I shall expect the same in return."

About this time papers were circulated through the American camp, addressed almost exclusively to the *foreigners* of Taylor's army, urging them to desert the cause in which they were engaged. These appeals were most artfully worded, and calculated to arouse every motive likely to act to the prejudice of the American cause. Arista's despatch (dated April 20th) concludes as follows:

"It is to no purpose if they tell you, that the law for the annexation of Texas justifies your occupation of the Rio Bravo del Norte; for by this act they rob us of a great part of Tamaulipas,

Coahuila, Chihuahua, and New Mexico; and it is barbarous to send a handful of men on such an errand against a powerful and warlike nation. Besides, the most of you are Europeans, and we are the *declared friends* of a majority of the nations of Europe. The North Americans are ambitious, overbearing, and insolent as a nation, and they will only make use of you as vile tools to carry out their abominable plans of pillage and rapine.

"I warn you in the name of justice, honour, and your own interests and self-interest, to abandon their desperate and unholy cause, and become *peaceful Mexican citizens.* I guaranty you, in such case, a half-section of land, or three hundred and twenty acres, to settle upon, gratis. Be wise, then, and just, and honourable, and take no part in murdering us who have no unkind feelings for you. Lands shall be given to officers, sergeants, and corporals, according to rank, privates receiving three hundred and twenty-acres, as stated.

"If in time of action you wish to espouse our cause, throw away your arms and run to us, and we will embrace you as true friends and Christians. It is not decent nor prudent to say more. But should any of you render important service to Mexico, you shall be accordingly considered and preferred."

Immediately after the blockade of the Rio Grande, parties of Mexicans commenced crossing the river, spreading themselves so as to occupy various positions along its eastern bank. These crossings took place both above and below General Taylor's camp; and apprehensive of being surrounded by an overwhelming force, he despatched a reconnoitering party in each direction. The fate of one of these, conducted by Captain Thornton is thus vividly described by a journal of that period.

"On the evening of the 23d, General Taylor's spies brought in intelligence to the effect that about two thousand five hundred Mexicans had crossed the Rio Grande to the Texas side, above the American fort, and about fifteen hundred of the same had crossed below. The general immediately despatched a squadron of dragoons to each place of crossing, for the purpose of reconnoitering them and ascertaining their position. The squadron ordered below was in command of Captain Ker; the one above was commanded by Captain Thornton, and composed of Captain

Hardee, Lieutenants Kane and Mason, with sixty-one privates and non-commissioned officers.

"The former commander, Captain Ker, on arriving at the point where it was supposed they had crossed, found that the report was false, but that they had crossed above.

"Thornton's command had proceeded up the Rio Grande about twenty-four miles, and, as was supposed, to within about three miles of the Mexican camp, when the guide refused to go further, stating for his reason that the whole country was infested with Mexicans. The captain, however, proceeded on with his command about two miles, when he came to a farm-house, which was entirely inclosed by a chaparral fence, with the exception of that portion of it which bordered on the river, and this was so boggy as to be impassable.

"Captain Thornton entered this inclosure through a pair of bars, and approached the house for the purpose of making some inquiry, his command following him. When the whole party had entered the inclosure, the enemy, having been concealed in the chaparral, about two thousand five hundred in number, completely surrounded him and commenced firing upon his command. He then wheeled his command, thinking he could charge through the enemy, and pass out where he had entered, even though it should be attended with considerable loss. This he attempted, but on account of the strength of the enemy, did not succeed.

"At this moment Captain Hardee approached him for the purpose of suggesting the means to extricate themselves, the fire of the enemy still continuing. Thornton's horse, having received a shot, ran with him toward the chaparral fence, which he leaped and plunged into a precipice, where he fell with the captain underneath, who remained insensible for five or six hours. This casualty placed Captain Hardee in command, who attempted with the residue to make his escape by the river, intending, on arriving at its margin, to swim it. In this he failed, finding the ground so boggy that he could not reach the river. He then returned, taking the precaution to keep out of musketry range, dismounted and examined the arms of his men, determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible.

"Before he had succeeded in the inspection of the arms, a Mexican officer rode up and asked him to surrender. The captain replied that if the Mexican general would receive them as prisoners of war and treat them as the most civilized nations do, they would give themselves up, but on no other condition. The officer bore this message to the commanding general, and returned with the assurance that the request should be complied with. Captain Hardee then surrendered. Captains Thornton and Hardee, with Lieutenant Kane and the residue of the non-commissioned officers and privates, were made prisoners of war, but were remarkably well treated by the enemy."

This affair was the virtual commencement of the war. It was reported to the commanding general as a victory of the greatest importance, and the Mexican army confidently anticipated the destruction of their invaders. From this time the enemy threw off the reserve which had hitherto characterized their movements, and crossing the river in large numbers, spread themselves between Fort Brown and Point Isabel. To the American army, this was the most gloomy period of the war; and when intelligence of its position reached the United States it created a sensation, and deep anxiety which showed how intimately the feelings of the people were twined around that distant band. But still General Taylor maintained his position, employing his whole army in the strengthening of his works; and at Point Isabel not only did Major Munroe employ all the means which had been left with him, but also landed the crews of the vessels in the harbour, and armed them as soldiers.

At this juncture the lamented Captain Walker reached Point Isabel, with some Texas rangers. As his merit was well known to the major, he was ordered to advance some distance beyond the works, and, if possible, open a communication with Fort Brown. With seventy-five men he rode to a position about fourteen miles distant; and soon after, (28th,) on learning that General Taylor was surrounded, he determined to open a communication. After riding some miles, he came suddenly upon a large Mexican force, which he estimated at fifteen hundred, drawn up across the road. They were nearly all mounted. The captain ordered his men into some neighbouring chaparral,

but before this could be effected, the enemy charged, and as most of the Americans were but raw recruits, they fled in confusion. A running fight ensued; the captain was pursued to within cannon-shot of Point Isabel, and his men dispersed. The loss of the Mexicans was about thirty.

On arriving at camp, Captain Walker offered to renew his effort to open a communication, provided four men would accompany him, alleging that the smaller the number on such an expedition the more chance of escape, in case of an attack. Such a proposition was regarded as desperate; but on six men volunteering, the major granted the request, and the intrepid ranger set out. By his intimate knowledge of the road, he was enabled to elude the enemy and reach Fort Brown in safety.

As soon as General Taylor had received information of the condition of Point Isabel, he determined to march with his army to its relief, leaving Major Jacob Brown with six hundred men and a few cannon to defend the river fort. He marched on the 1st, and reached the main depot on the following day.

The general's march was a source of unbounded exultation to the Mexicans. It was reported in their military orders as a retreat, and the ruin of the invading army began to be confidently expected.

As a preliminary to this, the destruction of Fort Brown was to be accomplished. Accordingly, on the 3d, a battery stationed in Matamoras opened its fire upon the works, and continued a brisk cannonade all day. It was answered by two eighteen-pounders. At seven in the evening the firing stopped, but was renewed at nine, and continued until midnight. One American was killed, but very little injury done on either side. Long before night Major Brown ceased firing, in consequence of the scarcity of ammunition.

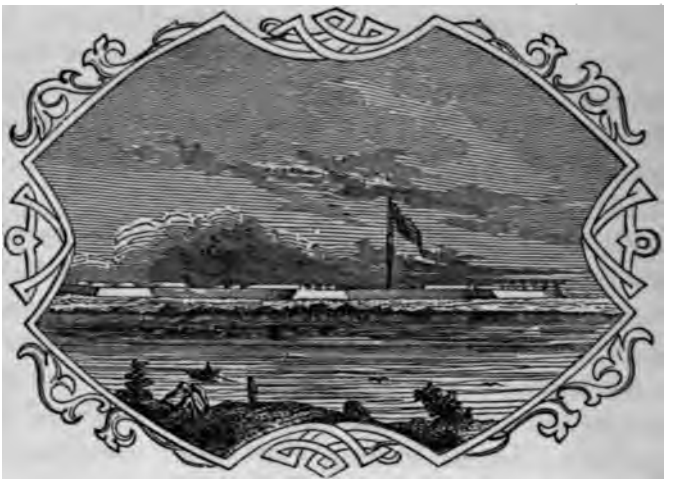
The cannonade had been heard at Point Isabel, and anxious to know the result, General Taylor despatched Captain May with about one hundred men, among whom was Walker and ten rangers, to Fort Brown. They set out in the evening, passed the enemy's camp under cover of the night and halted by some chaparral within seven miles of the fort. Captain Walker then proceeded with his party, arrived at the works,

and on announcing his name was admitted. He was detained so long that May was obliged to return without him; but on the 5th, to the great joy of General Taylor and the army, he arrived safely. Within some miles of the point, he had met a body of lancers, whom he charged and drove some miles; his escape, however, from the Mexican army, whose scouts were in active watch for him, seems little less than miraculous. He reported to the general the gratifying intelligence that Major Brown was still confidently maintaining his position.

At daylight on the 5th, the garrison at Fort Brown observed a battery in a field to the east, which soon opened its fire. The Americans were thus placed between two fires, which continued, with slight intermission, all day. They were renewed on the 6th, on the morning of which day Major Brown was mortally wounded by a bomb shell, and the command devolved on Captain Hawkins. In the evening that officer was summoned to surrender, and on refusing, the firing was commenced with greater vigour than ever, ceasing only when on the 8th another distant noise assured friend and foe that Generals Taylor and Arista had met in general battle. On the 9th it recommenced, but was finally terminated by the defeat of Arista.



Capture of Captain Thornton.



Fort Brown.

CHAPTER II.

Battles of the Rio Grande.



UPON the 8th of May, General Taylor at the head of his small army, numbering twenty-three hundred, came in sight of six thousand Mexicans, at Palo Alto. He had left Point Isabel on the evening of the 7th, and after marching some miles encamped in battle array. The march was resumed next morning. He thus describes the battle.

"About noon, when our advance of cavalry had reached the water-hole of 'Palo Alto,' the Mexican troops were reported in our front, and were soon discovered occupying the road in force. I ordered a halt on reaching the water, with a view to rest and refresh the men and form deliberately our line of battle. The Mexican line was now plainly visible across the prairie, and about three-quarters of a mile distant. Their left, which



Battle of Palo Alto.

was composed of a heavy force of cavalry, occupied the road, resting upon a thicket of chaparral, while masses of infantry were discovered in succession on the right, greatly outnumbering our own force.

"Our line of battle was now formed in the following order, commencing on the extreme right: 5th infantry, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel McIntosh; Major Ringgold's artillery; 3d infantry, commanded by L. M. Morris; two eighteen-pounders, commanded by Lieutenant Churchill, 3d artillery; 4th infantry, commanded by Major G. W. Allen; the 3d and 4th regiments, composed the 3d brigade, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Garland, and all the above corps, together with two squadrons of dragoons, under Captains Ker and May, composed the right wing, under the orders of Colonel Twiggs. The left was formed by the battalion of artillery, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Childs, Captain Duncan's light artillery, and the 8th infantry, under Captain Montgomery, all forming the 1st brigade, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Belknap. The train was parked near the water, under directions of Captains Crossman and Myers, and protected by Captain Ker's squadron.

"About two o'clock, we took up the march by heads of columns

in the direction of the enemy, the eighteen-pounder battery following the road. While the other columns were advancing, Lieutenant Blake, topographical engineers, volunteered a reconnoissance of the enemy's line, which was handsomely performed, and resulted in the discovery of at least two batteries of artillery in the intervals of their cavalry and infantry. These batteries were soon opened upon us, when I ordered the columns halted and deployed into line, and the fire to be returned by all our artillery. The 8th infantry, on our extreme left, was thrown back to secure that flank. The first fires of the enemy did little execution, while our eighteen-pounders and Major Ringgold's artillery soon dispersed the cavalry which formed his left. Captain Duncan's battery, thrown forward in advance of the line, was doing good execution at this time. Captain May's squadron was now detached to support that battery and the left of our position. The Mexican cavalry, with two pieces of artillery, were now reported to be moving through the chaparral to our right, to threaten that flank, or make a demonstration against the train. The 5th infantry was immediately detached to check this movement, and supported by Lieutenant Ridgely, with a section of Major Ringgold's battery, and Captain Walker's company of volunteers, effectully repulsed the enemy—the 5th infantry repelling a charge of lancers, and the artillery doing great execution in their ranks. The 3d infantry was now detached to the right, as a still further security to that flank, yet threatened by the enemy. Major Ringgold, with the remaining section, kept up his fire from an advanced position, and was supported by the left infantry.

"The grass of the prairie had been accidentally fired by our artillery, and the volumes of smoke now partially concealed the armies from each other. As the enemy's left had evidently been driven back, and left the road free, and as the cannonade had been suspended, I ordered forward the eighteen-pounders on the road nearly to the position first occupied by the Mexican cavalry, and caused the 1st brigade to take up a new position, still on the left of the eighteen-pounder battery. The 5th was advanced from its former position, and occupied a point on the extreme right of the new line. The enemy [illegible] change of position



Death of Ringgold.

corresponding to our own, and after a suspension of nearly an hour, the action was resumed.

"The fire of artillery was now most destructive; openings were constantly made through the enemy's ranks by our fire, and the constancy with which the Mexican infantry sustained this severe cannonade was a theme of universal remark and admiration. Captain May's squadron was detached to make a demonstration on the left of the enemy's position, and suffered severely from the fire of artillery, to which it was for some time exposed.

"The 4th infantry, which had been ordered to support the eighteen-pounder battery, was exposed to a most galling fire of artillery, by which several men were killed, and Captain Page dangerously wounded. The enemy's fire was directed against our eighteen-pounder battery, and the guns under Major Ringgold in its vicinity. The major himself, while coolly directing the fire of his pieces, was struck by a cannon-ball and mortally wounded.

"In the mean time, the battalion under Lieutenant-Colonel Child's had been brought up to support the artillery on our right. A strong demonstration of cavalry was now made by the enemy against this part of our line, and the column continued

to advance under a severe fire from the eighteen-pounders. The battalion was instantly formed in square, and held ready to receive the charge of cavalry, but when the advancing squadrons were within close range, a deadly fire of canister from the eighteen-pounders dispersed them. A brisk fire of small arms was now opened upon the square, by which one officer (Lieutenant Luther, 2d artillery) was slightly wounded; but a well-directed volley from the front of the square silenced all further firing from the enemy in this quarter. It was now nearly dark, and the action was closed on the right of our line, the enemy having been completely driven back from his position, and foiled in every attempt against it.

"While the above was going forward on our right, and under our own eye, the enemy had made a serious attempt against the left of our line. Captain Duncan instantly perceived the movement, and, by the bold and brilliant manœuvering of his battery, completely repulsed several successive efforts of the enemy to advance in force upon our left flank. Supported in succession by the 8th infantry, and by Captain Ker's squadron of dragoons, he gallantly held the enemy at bay, and finally drove him, with immense loss, from the field. The action here and along the whole line continued until dark, when the enemy retired into the chaparral, in rear of his position.

"Our loss this day was nine killed, forty-four wounded, and two missing.

"Our own force engaged is shown to have been one hundred and seventy-seven officers, and two thousand one hundred and eleven men; aggregate, two thousand two hundred and eighty-eight. The Mexican force, according to the statements of their own officers, taken prisoners in the affair of the 9th, was not less than six thousand regular troops, with ten pieces of artillery, and probably exceeding that number—the irregular force not known. Their loss was not less than two hundred killed, and four hundred wounded—probably greater. This estimate is very moderate, and formed upon the number actually counted on the field, and upon the reports of their own officers."

Early on the following morning, the enemy were observed moving toward the Rio Grande. The battle had by no means

been decisive; and they were evidently seeking a more advantageous position, in order to renew it. For this the American commander had carefully prepared. The wounded had been relieved on the previous night, the troops refreshed, and every thing put in readiness for battle; in addition to which a council of officers had resolved to continue the march at all hazards.

The battle of Resaca de la Palma is thus described by an American officer:

"At two o'clock P. M., we found the enemy drawn up in great force, occupying a ravine which our road crossed; with thick chaparral, or thorny bushes, on either side before it reached the ravine, and a pond of water on either side where it crossed the ravine, constituting a defile. They were seven thousand strong; we fifty-four weaker than on the previous day. The general ordered an immediate attack by all the troops, except the first brigade, which was kept in reserve; and soon the rattling fire of musketry, mingled with the heavy sound of artillery, announced the commencement of the action. The enemy had chosen his position, which he considered impregnable—was vastly superior to us in numbers, and had ten pieces of artillery planted in the defile, which swept the road with grape, and which it was absolutely necessary for us to take before they could be beaten. These pieces were flanked on either side by a regiment of brave veteran troops from Tampico, and we were obliged to stand an awful shower of grape and bullet before a charge could reach them. The battle had lasted some two hours with great fury on both sides, and many heroic deeds had been done, but no serious impression made, when General Taylor sent for Captain May of the second dragoons, and told him he must take that battery with his squadron of dragoons if he lost every man. May instantly placed himself at the head of his men, and setting off at full speed, with cheers and shouts, dashed into the defile, where he was greeted with an overwhelming discharge of grape and bullets, which nearly annihilated his first and second platoons, but he was seen, unhurt, darting like lightning through this murderous hailstorm, and, in a second, he and his men drove away, or cut to pieces the artillerists.

"The speed of his horses was so great, however, that they

passed through the battery, and were halted in its rear. There, turning, he charged back, and was just in time to rescue a Mexican general officer, who would not leave his guns, and was parrying the strokes of one of his men. The officer handed his sword to May, announced himself as General La Vega, and gave his parole. May turned him over to an officer, and galloping back to General Taylor, reported that he had captured the enemy's battery, and the gallant General La Vega, bravely defending it, whose sword he had the honour to present his commanding officer. The general was extremely gratified, and felt no doubt that a blow had been given, from which it would be difficult for the enemy to recover. . . . . Colonel Belknap, leading his regiment into the thickest of the fight, seized a Mexican standard, and waving it over his head, dashed on in front of his men, until his horse stumbled over some dead bodies, and threw him. Being a heavy man, he was helped on his horse by a soldier, who in the act received a ball through his lungs, and at the same moment a shot carried away the Mexican flag, leaving but the handle with the colonel. He dashed ahead with that, however, and his regiment carried every thing before it. At this moment the Mexicans gave way entirely, and, throwing down their arms, fled in every direction, leaving all their stores, munitions of war, arms, standards, &c. The killed, wounded, and prisoners, including those who were drowned in the Rio Grande, do not fall short of eighteen hundred—so that the enemy's loss in two days amounts to at least two thousand men, something more than the number we had in our army."

May's charge was the most brilliant event of this hard-fought battle. It was an opportunity for which the captain had been anxiously hoping; and riding in front of his horsemen, he called to them to follow. The next moment they were sweeping toward the enemy. Before being perceived by them, May was stopped by Lieutenant Ridgely, who was about firing in order to draw the shot of the enemy. This being done, May again dashed forward, and in a few minutes was by the muzzles of the cannon. Suddenly a tremendous discharge poured forth along the ranks of the intrepid horsemen, rolling horses and men headlong on the ground. But nothing could stop the survivors

Leaping over the cannon, they drove the artillerists from their positions at the point of the sword. The batteries were defended by the celebrated Tampico veterans, hitherto regarded as invincible. They threw themselves furiously between their guns, and with their swords and bayonets fought hand to hand with the cavalry. One by one they sunk beneath the weapons of their adversaries; and even when the regiment was broken and crushed, one of them endeavoured to sustain its honour by wrapping the flag around him in order to bear it away.

On the morning of this day, Lieutenant Blake, of the topographical engineers, was killed by the accidental discharge of one of his pistols. This officer was much beloved, and on the previous day had performed a reconnoissance of the most daring valour. One who accompanied him gives the subjoined account of this feat:

"After the line of battle had been formed, General Taylor rode along it to survey his command. Every man was perfectly cool, and had they been about to take dinner, they could not have been more indifferent. At this time the general had not the slightest knowledge as to whether the enemy had any artillery or not. The long prairie grass prevented any one from distinguishing it, when masked by men in front of the pieces. What was to be done? It was an all-important point. Captain May was ordered to go forward with his squadron, reconnoiter the enemy, and, if possible, draw a fire from their artillery, but to no purpose; they took no notice of him. Lieutenant Blake then proposed to go forward alone and reconnoiter. I was close to him, and volunteered to accompany him. He consented, and we dashed forward to within *eighty yards of their line*, the whole army looking on us with astonishment. Here we had a full view. The lieutenant alighted from his horse, and, with his glass, surveyed the whole line, and handed it to me. After making a similar observation, I returned the glass. Just then two officers rode out towards us. I mentioned it to Blake, and requested him to mount. He quietly told me to draw a pistol on them. I did so, and they halted. Had they thought proper, they could have fired a volley from their main line and riddled us both. We then galloped alo[illegible]'o its other end,

there examined them again, and returned Scarcely had Blake reported, when their batteries opened upon our line, and the work of destruction commenced. Our examination proved to be correct."

"The strength of our marching force on this day," says General Taylor, "was one hundred and seventy-three officers, and two thousand and forty-nine men—aggregate two thousand two hundred and twenty-two. The actual number engaged with the enemy did not exceed seventeen hundred. Our loss was three officers killed, and twelve wounded. Thirty-six men killed, and seventy-one wounded. * * * * * I have no accurate data from which to estimate the enemy's force on this day. He was known to have been reinforced after the action of the 8th, both by cavalry and infantry, and no doubt to an extent equal at least to his loss on that day. It is probable that six thousand men were opposed to us, in a position chosen by themselves, and strongly defended by artillery. The enemy's loss was very great. Nearly two hundred of his dead were buried by us, on the day succeeding the battle. His loss in killed, wounded, and missing, in the two affairs of the 8th and 9th, is, I think, moderately estimated at one thousand men.

"Our victory has been decisive. A small force has overcome immense odds of the best troops that Mexico can furnish—veteran regiments perfectly equipped and appointed. Eight pieces of artillery, several colours and standards, a great number of prisoners, (including fourteen officers,) and a large amount of baggage, and public property fell into our hands."

On the 10th prisoners were exchanged, and all the American captives, including Captain Thornton, set free. On the same day Major Brown expired.

On the 11th General Taylor visited Point Isabel, in order to arrange with the commander of the Gulf squadron, Commodore Conner, a plan for the campaign. Some of the objects of this plan are given in the following extract from a letter written to the war department at that time:

"I avail myself of this brief time at my command to report, that the main body of the army is now occupying its former position, opposite Matamoras. The Mexican forces are almost

disorganized, and I shall lose no time in investing Matamoras, and opening the navigation of the river. I am under the painful necessity of reporting, that Lieutenant Blake, topographical engineers, after rendering distinguished service in my staff, during the affair of the 8th instant, accidentally shot himself with a pistol the following day, and expired before night."





CHAPTER III.

Capture of Barita and Matamoras.



BARITA is a small town on the Rio Grande, south of Matamoras. On returning to Fort Brown, General Taylor was informed that the Mexicans were there concentrating their forces, for the purpose of establishing a military depot, which would give them command of the river. He therefore returned to Point Isabel, where a large number of volunteers from the southern and western states had just arrived. This enabled him to draw large reinforcements for his main station, and to commence offensive operations immediately.

In order to dispossess the enemy of their supposed position

he appointed a party, under Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson, to proceed against that station. It consisted of two volunteer companies from Louisiana, under Captains Stockton and Tobin, and one from Alabama, under General Desha. Commodore Conner was to co-operate.

On the 15th Wilson crossed the river, and marched down to Barita. To his astonishment he experienced no opposition, nor was an enemy seen in arms. General Taylor had been misinformed.

An officer of Colonel Wilson's party thus describes the town, and the operations of his commanding officer:

"I am here to select a site for the depot of our new base of operations, and to intrench. This village is about ten miles from the mouth of the river, and the same distance from Brazos Santiago, or Fort Polk, (Point Isabel.) The prominent features which might induce me to decide upon this, as the proper point for the depot, are, that it is the first high land you reach in ascending the river, that it is above hurricane tides, that the ground is naturally formed for a military position, commanding every thing around it, and commanded by nothing. It is equidistant, and not very inaccessible from our other depots. The worst road is to Fort Polk; while the direct line is only ten miles, the only road for wagons is over twenty. Colonel Wilson has four companies of his own regiment here, and four of volunteers.

"This movement up the river was intended to have been a combined one with Commodore Conner. It has been delayed two days in consequence of unfavourable weather rendering the bar too rough. The commodore's limited stay here compelled him to notify the general not to count upon his co-operation in an expedition up the river. This morning at daylight I started the *Neva* (a river boat) out from the Brazos. She entered the Rio Bravo without difficulty about eight A. M., and some time after I rode down the beach. Colonel Wilson's command has been bivouacking for two days on our side of the mouth. We crossed them all over by twelve; and before one P. M. the column was *en route* up the river. The banks of the river are but slightly higher than the surface of the water for some miles up

The whole country low, and filled with lagoons. There is a high ridge of sand hills, some twenty feet high, extending up and down the coast directly on the beach. The country back of this ridge is one vast plain of prairie and lagoon. The road up the river is tolerably good. The river is very serpentine. The road runs from bend to bend, the distance by river being nearly double that by road. The road up the right bank is skirted to the left and south by lagoons, until you reach Barita; so that a march of a column up this side is by no means exposed to a thick attack."

Meanwhile active preparations were going forward for crossing the Rio Grande and attacking Matamoras. Owing to the scarcity of means for transportation this work went on but slowly; and the arrangements necessary to meet the expected resistance, caused still further delay. On the 18th, however, the crossing was effected, though with the loss of Lieutenant Stephens, a beloved and deeply lamented officer. The particulars of this affair, together with the capture of Matamoras, we give in General Taylor's own words:

"I have the honour to report that my very limited means of crossing rivers prevented a complete prosecution of the victories of the 9th instant. A ponton train, the necessity of which I exhibited to the department last year, would have enabled the army to have crossed on the evening of the battle, take this city, with all the artillery and stores of the enemy, and a great number of prisoners. In short, to destroy entirely the Mexican army. But I was compelled to await the arrival of heavy mortars, with which to menace the town from the left bank, and also the accumulation of small boats. In the mean time, the enemy had somewhat recovered from the confusion of his flight, and ought still, with three thousand men left him, to have made a respectable defense. I made every preparation to cross the river above the town, while Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson made a diversion on the side of Barita, and the order of march was given out for one o'clock yesterday, from the camp near Fort Brown, when I was waited upon by General Reguena, empowered by General Arista, commanding-in-chief the Mexican forces, to treat for an armistice until the government should finally

settle the question. I replied to this, that an armistice was out of the question; that a month since I had proposed one to General Ampudia, which was declined; that circumstances were now changed; that I was receiving large reinforcements, and could not now suspend operations which I had not invited nor provoked; that the possession of Matamoras was a *sine qua non;* that our troops would occupy the town; but that General Arista might withdraw his forces, leaving the public property of every description.

"An answer to the above was promised in the afternoon, but none came; and I repaired at sundown to join the army, already in position at a crossing some two miles above the town. Very early this morning the bank was occupied by two eighteen-pounders and three batteries of field artillery, and the crossing commenced: the light companies of all the battalions were first thrown over, followed by the volunteer and regular cavalry. No resistance was made, and I was soon informed from various quarters that Arista had abandoned the town, with all his troops, the evening before, leaving only the sick and wounded. I immediately despatched a staff officer to the prefect to demand a surrender; and, in the mean time, a commission was sent by the prefect to confer with me on the same point. I gave assurance that the civil rights of the citizens would be respected, and our troops at once dropped down opposite the town, and crossed at the "Upper Ferry," the American flag being displayed at Fort Paredes, a Mexican redoubt near the crossing. The different corps now encamped in the outskirts of the city. To-morrow I shall make suitable arrangements for the occupation of the town, and for taking possession of the public property. More than three hundred of the enemy's wounded have been left in the hospitals. Arista is in full retreat towards Monterey, with the fragments of his army.

"I deeply regret to report that Lieutenant George Stevens, a very promising young officer, of the 2d dragoons, was accidentally drowned this morning while attempting to swim the river with his squadron."

During the night of the 17th, General Arista, with the troops left together after the battle of the 9th, had evacuated the city,

and commenced a rapid march for the interior. He thus excused his flight to his superior officer:

"All the means of subsistence of this division being consumed, its activity paralyzed, and its artillery diminished, while that of the enemy has been greatly increased in the number of pieces and the calibre of his guns, in such a manner that, were he to open his fire, the city of Matamoras would be instantly destroyed, to the utter ruin of national and foreign interests, I have decided to retire from it, with the forces under my command, before being summoned, and obliged to evacuate it with dishonour, which I shall thus avoid: for the march is slow, our pieces being drawn by oxen, and our munitions in carts. My object now is to defend the soil of those departments which have been intrusted to me; and, for that purpose, I am going to post myself at those points most convenient, and within reach of supplies, of which I will hereafter inform your highness, though your communications must seek me by the road of China, or that of Linares. The step to which I have referred has saved the national honour; and I communicate it to your highness for your information, recommending you to secure the camp equipage, placing it in a convenient point, and preserving the sixteen-pounders in that city, to which, moreover, I will order a reinforcement."

Colonel Twiggs was appointed military governor of Matamoras, and by a just and energetic exercise of his functions, soon cleared the city of the lawless banditti that infested it, and restored order and confidence. The rights of the citizens were respected, and the people encouraged to look upon the Americans rather as friends than as invaders. These pacific measures were further strengthened by a proclamation of General Taylor in which he exhibited the tyranny of the Mexican authorities, and a desire of his government for a speedy and honourable termination of all difficulties.

Soon after the capture of this important station, small parties took possession of the towns of Mier, Reynosa, and Camargo; and thus the entire region of the Rio Grande was in possession of the Americans. But Taylor's difficulties were far greater than before. When writing to the governors of several states for reinforcements, he had explicitly stated his demand for but

eight regiments. But after receiving notice of his danger, these officers with a laudable zeal, hurried on reinforcements, to such an extent, that the general found himself utterly at a loss as to the manner of their disposal. His means of transportation were very limited; and no satisfactory orders respecting his future course arrived from Washington. In a letter to the department dated June 3d, he says:

"I am necessarily detained at this point for want of suitable transportation to carry on offensive operations. There is not a steamboat at my command proper for the navigation of the Rio Grande; and without water transportation, I consider it useless to attempt any extensive movement. Measures have been taken to procure boats of suitable draught and description, and one or two may now be expected. In the mean time, I propose to push a battalion of infantry as far as Reynosa, and occupy that town. For any operations in the direction of Monterey, it will be necessary to establish a large depot at Camargo, which I shall lose no time in doing as soon as proper transports arrive, unless I receive counter-instructions from the department.

"I trust the department will see that I could not possibly have anticipated the arrival of such heavy reinforcements from Louisiana as are now here, and on their way hither. Without large means of transportation, this force will embarrass, rather than facilitate our operations. I cannot doubt that the department has already given instructions, based upon the change in our position since my first call for volunteers.

"Our last accounts of Arista represent his force to be halted at Coma, an extensive hacienda on the Monterey road, about one hundred miles from this point. He has pickets covering the roads leading to Matamoras, with a view to cut off all communication with the interior. The departmental authorites have issued a decree denouncing as traitors all who hold intercourse with us, or with those who do so. I am, nevertheless, disposed to believe that in some quarters, at least, our presence is not unfavourably viewed. We have no intelligence from the city of Mexico."

The uncertainty experienced even by government as to the manner of conducting the war, together with their imperfect

instructions to the general, will be seen from the following extracts of a letter from the secretary of war, dated June 8th.

"In my letter of the 28th ultimo, you were left to your own discretion and judgment as to the measures to be pursued before the end of the unfavourable season shall have passed, and it is not now intended to control that discretion. You best know what amount of force you will have under your command, and what can be best accomplished with that force.

"It is presumed you will hold both banks of the Rio Grande to a considerable distance from its mouth, and secure the uninterupted use of that river for the transportation of supplies. I hope you will be able to take and hold in possession all places on it as high up as Laredo.

"It is proper that I should advise you that a considerable force, which will be also under your command, will soon assemble at San Antonio de Bexar. The ultimate destination of this force is Chihuahua, if it should be determined that such an expedition would have a favourable operation in the conduct of the war; but it might be at once used to take and secure the several places on the Rio Grande. Though we have no despatch from you since those giving an account of the battles on the 8th and 9th of May, we have such information as induces the belief that you are in possession of Matamoras, and that you are not now threatened with any considerable Mexican force. It is desirable that you should find yourself in sufficient strength to capture and hold Monterey with your present force. You are apprized that large reinforcements are preparing to join you. Besides the regular forces now under your command, and which will be speedily augmented, you will soon have nearly twenty thousand volunteers, (including those to rendezvous at San Antonio de Bexar,) who are to serve for one year. Your determination as to immediate movements will, therefore, be somewhat influenced by the consideration of the additional force which will soon join you.

"The president is desirous of receiving, and hopes soon to be favoured with, your views and suggestions in relation to the fall campaign. His determination is to have the war prosecuted with vigour, and to embrace in the objects to be compassed in that

campaign, such as will dispose the enemy to desire an end of the war. Shall the campaign be conducted with the view of striking at the city of Mexico, or confined, so far as regards the forces under your immediate command, to the northern provinces of Mexico? Your views on this point will, doubtless, have an important influence upon the determination of the government here. Should our army penetrate far into the interior of Mexico, how are supplies to be obtained? Can they be, to any considerable extent, drawn from the enemy's country, or must they be obtained from the United States? If the latter, what are the facilities and difficulties of transportation? These are very important questions, and the answers to them will have an essential bearing in settling the plan and objects of the campaign; and it is desired that you should express your views fully in regard to them.

"Again: it is important to know your opinion of the description of troops best adapted to operations in the interior of Mexico; what proportion should be infantry, artillery, and cavalry, &c. A peace must be conquered in the shortest space of time practicable. Your views of the manner of doing it are requested. It is not doubted that you will push your advantages to the utmost extent it can be done, with the means at your command."

Before receiving this letter, General Taylor defined his exact condition as follows. The letters are dated June 10th and 17th.

"I beg leave earnestly to invite the attention of the department to the following points:

"First. The great influx of volunteers at Point Isabel. Five regiments certainly from Louisiana, numbering, say three thousand six hundred men, two regiments or battalions from Louisville and St. Louis, numbering, say twelve hundred more; several companies from Alabama, and I know not how many from Texas; the latter now beginning to arrive. The volunteer troops, now under my orders, amount to nearly six thousand men. How far they may be increased without previous notification to me, it is impossible to tell.

"Secondly. The entire want of the proper kind of transportation to push my operations up the river. The boats on which I depended for this service were found to be nearly destroyed by

worms, and entirely unfit for the navigation of the river. At my instance, Major Thomas, on the 18th of May, required from Lieutenant-Colonel Hunt a boat of the proper description, and followed it up in a few days by a requisition for another. At the last dates from New Orleans no boat had been procured. Captain Sanders, of the engineers, was despatched by me to New Orleans, to assist in procuring suitable boats, but I have yet received no report from him.

"As I have previously reported, my operations are completely paralyzed by the want of suitable steamboats to navigate the Rio Grande. Since the 18th of May, the army has lain in camp near this place continually receiving heavy reinforcements of men, but no facility for water transport, without which additional numbers are but an embarrassment.

"I desire to place myself right in this matter, and to let the department see that the inactivity of the army results from no neglect of mine. I must express my astonishment that such large reinforcements have been sent forward to join the army, without being accompanied by the means of transportation, both by land and water, to render them efficient. As matters now stand, whatever may be the expectations of the department, I cannot move from this place; and unless Captain Sanders shall succeed in procuring boats of the proper kind, I can give no assurance in regard to future operations."

"No steamboats have been sent out from New Orleans for the navigation of the Rio Grande, and in the absence of all information on that point, or respecting the views of the government, I am altogether in the dark as to our future operations. I must think that orders have been given, by superior authority, to suspend the forwarding of means of transportation from New Orleans. I cannot otherwise account for the extraordinary delay shown by the quartermaster's department in that city. Even the mails, containing probably important despatches from the government, are not expedited.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson has occupied Reynosa without opposition. What remains of the Mexican army is understood to be still at Linares, and has suffered from disease. General Torrejon has died, and Colonel Carasco, at last advices, was very

ill. I learn that Generals Arista and Ampudia have gone to Mexico, probably for the trial of the former, or both.

"Volunteer regiments have arrived from Louisville and St. Louis, making, with those from Louisiana, eight strong and organized battalions—mustering over five thousand men.

"In addition, we have seven companies of Alabama volunteers, and twelve or fifteen companies from Texas. Others from Texas are continually arriving. A portion of these volunteers has been lying in camp at this place for nearly a month, completely paralyzed by the want of transportation. Exposed as they are in this climate to diseases of the camp, and without any prospect, so far as I can see, of being usefully employed, I must recommend that they be allowed to return to their homes.

"I have despatched Captain McCulloch, a good partisan officer, in the direction of Linares, with his company, to gain information touching the numbers and position of the enemy, and the resources of the country."

For his ability in conducting the campaign on the Rio Grande, General Taylor received the thanks of Congress and a commission as brevet major-general, signed by the president. Soon after he was raised to a full major-general. The legislatures of several states voted him swords, and various demonstrations, both of popular meetings and official bodies, exhibited the confidence and gratitude of the people toward him.



Mexican Gentlemen.



CHAPTER IV.

Storming of Monterey.



UPON the 3d of August, 1846, a proclamation was issued from the city of Mexico, declaring the constitution of 1824 to be in force, and inviting all who had been banished from the country since its abolition to return, "especially his excellency Don Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, well deserving of his country, acknowledging him as general-in-chief of all the forces pledged and determined to fight, in order that the nation may recover its rights, secure its liberty, and govern itself." In virtue of this proclamation, General Santa Anna sailed from Cuba, passed through the American fleet, under permission from President Polk, and reached Vera Cruz on the 16th of August. Here he was hailed as the deliverer of the nation, and commenced immediate preparations for a march to the capital. His entry into that city was a perfect triumph; and he was immediately appointed president of the republic under the constitution of 1824, and commander-in-chief of the army.

This movement had arisen from the tyranny of Paredes. Instead of conciliating the different factions, he had banished or imprisoned all his opponents, suppressed the disaffected journals, and conducted himself toward the people in a manner the most oppressive and despotic. Dissatisfaction and anarchy followed, opposition daily strengthened, and finally Paredes found himself embarrassed with insuperable difficulties. On the 28th of July, Vera Cruz declared for the exiled Santa Anna; and three days after, the proclamation in his favour was issued. Paredes saw his fall, and, after making a desperate opposition, fled from the capital, but was afterwards arrested and thrown into the castle of Perote. De Salas, his principal rival, immediately declared for Santa Anna, and held the government until his return.

On assuming the reigns of government, Santa Anna adopted a system of measures as energetic as it was judicious. He re-established the federal government, united almost all opposition, pledged his private property for the general welfare, and began extensive preparations for the raising of a large army. He declined acting as civil governor, and placing himself at the head of the troops in the capital, marched toward the seat of war.

Meanwhile General Taylor was hastening preparations for a march into the interior; but so great were his embarrassments, that the advance divisions under Butler and Twiggs were not able to start before the commencement of September. The general followed on the 5th, leaving General Patterson in command on the Rio Grande.

On the 19th he reached the Walnut Springs, three miles from Monterey.

The operations against Monterey were conducted by two divisions, under Generals Taylor and Worth, each acting independent of the other.

The former thus describes his own operations:

"At two o'clock, P. M., on the 20th, the second division took up its march. It was soon discovered by officers who were reconnoitering the town, and communicated to General Worth, that its movement had been perceived and that the enemy was throwing reinforcements towards the Bishop's Palace and the height which commands it. To divert his attention as far as



The American Army entering Marin, on its march to Monterey.

practicable, the first division, under Brigadier-General Twiggs, and field division of volunteers, under Major-General Butler, were displayed in front of the town until dark. Arrangements were made at the same time to place in battery during the night, at a suitable distance from the enemy's main work, the citadel, two twenty-four-pounder howitzers, and a ten-inch mortar, with a view to open a fire on the following day, when I proposed to make a diversion in favour of General Worth's movement. The 4th infantry covered this battery during the night. General Worth had, in the mean time, reached and occupied for the night a defensive position just without range of a battery above the Bishop's Palace, having made a reconnoissance as far as the Saltillo road.

"Early on the morning of the 21st, I received a note from General Worth, written at half-past nine o'clock the night before, suggesting what I had already intended, a strong diversion against the centre and left of the town, to favour his enterprise against the heights in rear. The infantry and artillery of the first division, and the field division of volunteers, were ordered under arms, and took the direction of the city, leaving one company of each regiment as a camp guard. The 2d dragoons,

under Lieutenant-Colonel May, and Colonel Wood's regiment of Texas mounted volunteers, under the immediate direction of General Henderson, were directed to the right to support Gene ral Worth, if necessary, and to make an impression, if practicable, upon the upper quarter of the city. Upon approaching the mortar battery, the 1st and 3d regiments of infantry and battalion of Baltimore and Washington volunteers, with Captain Bragg's field battery—the whole under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Garland—were directed towards the lower part of the town, with orders to make a strong demonstration, and carry one of the enemy's advanced works, if it could be done without too heavy loss. Major Mansfield, engineers, and Captain Williams and Lieutenant Pope, topographical engineers, accompanied this column, Major Mansfield being charged with its direction, and the designation of points of attack. In the mean time the mortar, served by Captain Ramsay, of the ordnance, and the howitzer battery under Captain Webster, 1st artillery, had opened their fire upon the citadel, which was deliberately sustained, and answered from the works. General Butler's division had now taken up a position in rear of this battery, when the discharges of artillery, mingled finally with a rapid fire of small arms, showed that Lieutenant Garland's command had become warmly engaged. I now deemed it necessary to support this attack, and accordingly ordered the 4th infantry and three regiments of General Butler's division to march at once by the left flank in the direction of the advanced work at the lower extremity of the town, leaving one regiment (1st Kentucky) to cover the mortar and howitzer battery. By some mistake two companies of the 4th infantry did not receive this order, and consequently did not join the advance companies until some time afterwards.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Garland's command had approached the town in a direction to the right of the advanced work (No. 1.) at the north-eastern angle of the city, and the engineer officer, covered by skirmishers, had succeeded in entering the suburbs and gaining cover. The remainder of this command now advanced and entered the town under a heavy fire of artillery from the citadel and the works on the left, and of musketry from the houses and small works in front. A movement to the right was



Storming of Fort Teneria.

attempted with a view to gain the rear of No. 1, and carry that work, but the troops were so much exposed to a fire which they could not effectually return, and had already sustained such severe loss, particularly in officers, that it was deemed best to withdraw them to a more secure position. Captain Backus, 1st infantry, however, with a portion of his own and other companies, had gained the roof of a tannery, which looked directly into the gorge of No. 1, and from which he poured a most destructive fire into that work and upon the strong building in its rear. This fire happily coincided in point of time with the advance of a portion of the volunteer division upon No. 1, and contributed largely to the fall of that strong and important work.

"The three regiments of the volunteer division, under the immediate command of Major-General Butler, had in the mean time advanced in the direction of No. 1. The leading brigade, under Brigadier-General Quitman, continued its advance upon that work, preceded by three companies of the 4th infantry, while General Butler, with the first Ohio regiment entered the town to the right. The companies of the 4th infantry had advanced within short range of the work, when they were received by a fire that almost, in one moment, struck down one-third of

the officers and men, and rendered it necessary to retire and effect a conjunction with the two other companies then advancing. General Quitman's brigade, though suffering most severely, particularly in the Tennessee regiment, continued its advance, and finally carried the work in handsome style, as well as the strong building in its rear. Five pieces of artillery, a considerable supply of ammunition, and thirty prisoners, including three officers, fell into their hands. Major-General Butler, with the 1st Ohio regiment, after entering the edge of the town, discovered that nothing was to be accomplished in his front, and at this point, yielding to the suggestion of several officers, I ordered a retrograde movement; but learning almost immediately, from one of my staff, that the battery No. 1 was in our possession, the order was countermanded; and I determined to hold the battery and defenses already gained. General Butler, with the 1st Ohio regiment, then entered the town at a point farther to the left, and marched in the direction of the battery No. 2. While making an examination, with a view to ascertain the possibility of carrying this second work by storm, the general was wounded, and soon after compelled to quit the field. As the strength of No. 2, and the heavy musketry fire flanking the ap proach, rendered it impossible to carry it without great loss, the 1st Ohio regiment was withdrawn from the town.

"Fragments of the various regiments engaged were now under cover of the captured battery, and some buildings in its front, and on the right. The field batteries of Captains Bragg and Ridgely were also partially covered by the battery. An incessant fire was kept up on this position from battery No. 2, and other works on its right, and from the citadel on all our approaches. General Twiggs, though quite unwell, joined me at this point, and was instrumental in causing the artillery captured from the enemy to be placed in battery, and served by Captain Ridgely against No. 2, until the arrival of Captain Webster's howitzer battery, which took its place. In the mean time, I directed such men as could be collected of the 1st, 3d, and 4th regiments, and Baltimore battalion, to enter the town, penetrating to the right, and carry the 2d battery if possible. This command, under Lieutenant-Colonel Garland, advanced beyond the



Storming of Monterey.

bridge "Purisima," when, finding it impracticable to gain the rear of the 2d battery, a portion of it sustained themselves for some time in that advanced position; but as no permanent impression could be made at that point, and the main object of the general operation had been effected, the command, including a section of Captain Ridgely's battery, which had joined it, was withdrawn to battery No. 1. During the absence of this column, a demonstration of cavalry was reported in the direction of the citadel. Captain Bragg, who was at hand, immediately galloped with his battery to a suitable position, from which a few discharges effectually dispersed the enemy. Captain Miller, 1st infantry, was despatched with a mixed command to support the battery on this service. The enemy's lancers had previously charged upon the Ohio and part of the Mississippi regiment, near some fields at a distance from the edge of the town, and had been repulsed with a considerable loss. A demonstration of cavalry on the opposite side of the river was also dispersed in the course of the afternoon by Captain Ridgely's battery, and the squadrons returned to the city. At the approach of evening, all the troops that had been engaged were ordered back to camp, except Captain Ridgely's battery, and the regular infantry of the

first division, who were detailed as a guard for the works during the night, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Garland One battalion of the 1st Kentucky regiment was ordered to reinforce this command. Intrenching tools were procured, and additional strength was given to the works, and protection to the men, by working parties during the night, under the direction of Lieutenant Scarritt, engineers.

"The main object proposed in the morning had been effected. A powerful diversion had been made to favour the operations of the 2d division, one of the enemy's advanced works had been carried, and we now had a strong foothold in the town. But this had not been accomplished without a heavy loss, embracing some of our gallant and promising officers. The number of killed and wounded incident to the operations in the lower part of the city on the 21st is three hundred and ninety-four.

"Early in the morning of this day, (21st,) the advance of the 2d division had encountered the enemy in force, and after a brief but sharp conflict, repulsed him with heavy loss. General Worth then succeeded in gaining a position on the Saltillo road, thus cutting the enemy's line of communication. From this position the two heights south of the Saltillo road were carried in succession, and the gun taken in one of them turned upon the Bishop's Palace. These important successes were fortunately obtained with comparatively small loss; Captain McKavett, 8th infantry, being the only officer killed.

"The 22d day of September passed without any active operations in the lower part of the city. The citadel and other works continued to fire at parties exposed to their range, and at the work now occupied by our troops. The guard left in it the preceding night, except Captain Ridgely's company, was relieved at midday by General Quitman's brigade, Captain Bragg's battery was thrown under cover in front of the town to repel any demonstration of cavalry in that quarter. At dawn of day, the height above the Bishop's Palace was carried, and soon after meridian, the palace itself was taken and its guns turned upon the fugitive garrison. The object for which the 2d division was detached had thus been completely accomplished, and I felt confident that with a strong force occupying the road and heights

in his rear, and a good position below the city in our possession, the enemy could not possibly maintain the town.

"During the night of the 22d, the enemy evacuated nearly all his defenses in the lower part of the city. This was reported to me early in the morning of the 23d by General Quitman, who had already meditated an assault upon those works. I immediately sent instructions to that officer, leaving it to his discretion to enter the city, covering his men by the houses and walls, and advance carefully as far as he might deem prudent. After ordering the remainder of the troops as a reserve, under the orders of Brigadier-General Twiggs, I repaired to the abandoned works, and discovered that a portion of General Quitman's brigade had entered the town, and were successfully forcing their way towards the principal plaza. I then ordered up the 2d regiment of Texas mounted volunteers, who entered the city, dismounted, and, under the immediate orders of General Henderson, co-operated with General Quitman's brigade. Captain Bragg's battery was also ordered up, supported by the 3d infantry; and after firing for some time at the cathedral, a portion of it was likewise thrown into the city. Our troops advanced from house to house, and from square to square, until they reached a street but one square in rear of the principal plaza, in and near which the enemy's force was mainly concentrated. This advance was conducted vigorously, but with due caution, and although destructive to the enemy, was attended with but small loss on our part. Captain Ridgely, in the mean time, had served a captured piece in battery No. 1, against the city, until the advance of our men rendered it imprudent to fire in the direction of the cathedral. I was now satisfied that we could operate successfully in the city, and that the enemy had retired from the lower portion of it to make a stand behind his barricades. As General Quitman's brigade had been on duty the previous night, I determined to withdraw the troops to the evacuated works, and concert with General Worth a combined attack upon the town. The troops accordingly fell back deliberately, in good order, and resumed their original positions, General Quitman's brigade being relieved after nightfall by that of General Hamer. On my return to camp, I met an officer

with the intelligence that General Worth, induced by the firing in the lower part of the city, was about making an attack at the upper extremity, which had also been evacuated by the enemy to a considerable distance. I regretted that this information had not reached me before leaving the city, but still deemed it inexpedient to change my orders, and accordingly returned to the camp. A note from General Worth, written at eleven o'clock, P. M., informed me that he had advanced to within a short distance of the principal plaza, and that the mortar (which had been sent to his division in the morning) was doing good execution within effective range of the enemy's position.

"Desiring to make no further attempt upon the city without complete concert as to the lines and mode of approach, I instructed that officer to suspend his advance until I could have an interview with him on the following morning at his head-quarters.

"Early on the morning of the 24th, I received, through Colonel Moreno, a communication from General Ampudia, proposing to evacuate the town; which, with the answer, were forwarded with my first despatch. I arranged with Colonel Moreno, a cessation of fire until twelve o'clock, at which hour I would receive the answer of the Mexican general at General Worth's head-quarters, to which I soon repaired. In the mean time, General Ampudia had signified to General Worth his desire for a personal interview with me, to which I acceded, and which finally resulted in a capitulation, placing the town and the materiel of war, with certain exceptions, in our possession. A copy of that capitulation was transmitted with my first despatch.

"Upon occupying the city, it was discovered to be of great strength in itself, and to have its approaches carefully and strongly fortified. The town and works were armed with forty-two pieces of cannon, well supplied with ammunition, and manned with a force of at least seven thousand troops of the line, and from two to three thousand irregulars. The force under my orders before Monterey, as exhibited by the accompanying return, was four hundred and twenty-five officers, and six thousand two hundred and twenty men. Our artillery consisted of one ten-inch mortar, two twenty-four-pounder howitzers, and four



The Bishop's Palace.

light field batteries of four guns each—the mortar being the only piece suitable to the operations of a siege.

"Our loss is twelve officers and one hundred and eight men killed, thirty-one officers and three hundred and thirty-seven men wounded. That of the enemy is not known, but is believed considerably to exceed our own."

At noon of the 20th, General Worth marched from the camp, east of the town, in the direction of the heights west, McCulloch's and Gillispie's companies of rangers forming the reconnoitering party. At night, the division bivouacked almost within range of the guns stationed upon the highest point of the hill on which the Bishop's Palace is situated. At daylight of the 21st, the column was again in motion, and, in a few moments, was turning the point of a ridge, which protruded out toward the enemy's guns, bringing us as near to them as their gunners could desire. They immediately opened upon the column with a howitzer and twelve-pounder, firing shell and round-shot as fast as they could discharge their pieces.

The road now wound in toward a gorge, but not far enough to be out of range of their guns, which still played upon us. Another ridge lay about three-quarters of a mile beyond the

first, around the termina'ion of which the road wound, bringing it under the lofty summit of a height which rises between Palace Hill and the mountains, which arise over us on the west. When the head of the column approached this ridge, a body of Mexican cavalry came dashing around that point to charge upon our advance. Captain Gillespie immediately ordered his men to dismount and place themselves in ambush. The enemy evi dently did not perceive this manœuver; but the moment they came up, the Texans opened upon them a most destructive fire, unsaddling a number of them. McCulloch's company now dashed into them. Captain C. F. Smith's camp, and Captain Scott's camp of artillery, (acting as infantry,) and Lieutenant Longstreet's company of the 8th infantry, with another company of the same regiment, likewise charged upon the enemy. The Texan horsemen were soon engaged with them in a sort of hand to hand skirmish, in which a number of them fell, and one Texan was killed and two wounded.

Colonel Duncan now opened upon them with his battery of light artillery, pouring a few discharges of grape upon them, and scattering them like chaff. Several men and horses fell under this destructive fire. One horse and his rider bounded some feet into the air, and both fell dead and tumbled down the steep. The foot companies above named then rushed up the steep, and fired over the ridge at the retreating enemy, a considerable body of whom were concealed from our view, around the point of the hill. About thirty of the enemy were killed in this skirmish, and among them a captain, who, with two or three others, fell in the road. The captain was wounded in three places, the last shot hitting him in the forehead. He fought gallantly to the last.

The light batteries, one of which was commanded by Lieute nant Mackall, were now driven upon the slope of the ridge, and the howitzers opened upon the height of Palace Hill. A few shots only were thrown, before the enemy commenced firing with a nine-pounder from the height immediately over the right of the column, aiming at Duncan's batteries. The several regiments took positions, and a few more shells were thrown towards Palace Hill, but did no execution. The nine-pounder continued

to throw its shot with great precision at our batteries, one ball falling directly in the midst of the pieces, but, fortunately, hitting neither men nor guns. Finding his batteries thus exposed, and unable to effect any thing, Colonel Duncan removed his command to a rancho about half a mile further up the Saltillo road, where General Worth took up his position, after ordering the foot regiments to form along the fence near the point of the ridge. The artillery battalion, 5th, 7th, and 8th infantry, and the Louisiana volunteers, remained in this position about two hours, directly under fire of the enemy's guns.

At half-past ten, the column moved towards the general's position. At this time, Captain McKavett, of the 8th infantry, was shot through the heart by a nine-pound ball, and a private of the 5th infantry was severely wounded in the thigh, and he died the next morning. About fifty Mexicans now appeared upon the side hill over the moving column, and fired at our troops some hundred musket-shot, without doing any harm. The division deployed into the position pointed out, and remained an hour or two, when Captain C. F. Smith, of the artillery battalion, with his own company, and Captain Scott's, together with four companies of Texan Rangers on foot, were ordered to storm the second height. This the gallant officer cheerfully undertook, and was followed with enthusiasm by the officers and men of his command. It was considered on all sides to be a dangerous undertaking, and his party was regarded most emphatically as a *forlorn hope*. That the height would be taken no one doubted, but that many brave fellows would fall in the attempt seemed inevitable. The distance to be climbed, after reaching the foot of the hill, was about a quarter of a mile; a part of the way almost perpendicular, through thorn-bushes and over sharp-pointed rocks and loose sliding stones.

The 7th infantry, commanded by Captain Miles, was ordered to support Captain Smith's party, and by marching directly to the foot of the height, arrived before Captain Smith, who had been ordered to take a circuitous route. Captain Miles sent up Lieutenant Gantt, with a detachment of men upon the hill-side, to divert the attention of the enemy from Captain Smith's command, which could not yet be seen. The 7th had already sus-

tained a heavy fire of grape and round-shot, as they forded the San Juan, which winds round the foot of the height, and which fell like a shower of hail in their ranks without killing a man Lieutenant Gantt's party were greeted with grape and round-shot, which cut the shrubs, and tore up the loose stones about the ranks, without killing any one; but the gallant young officer came within an inch of being killed by a cannon-shot, which ran down the steep and filled his face with fragments of rock, dust, and gravel. The fire was accompanied by a constant discharge of musketry, the enemy covering the upper part of the hill-side; but the detachment continued to move up, driving the Mexicans back, until they were recalled.

Captain Smith's party now arrived and moved up the hill, the rangers in advance, and did not halt for an instant until the Mexicans were driven from the summit. Whilst this was going on, Colonel Persifer F. Smith, who commanded the 5th and 7th infantry—the 5th, with Blanchard's Louisiana boys, under Major Martin Scott, had been ordered to support the whole—gave orders for these commands to pass around on each side and storm the fort, which was situated about half a mile back of the summit on the same ridge, and commanded the Bishop's Palace. Such a foot-race as now ensued has seldom if ever been seen; the Louisiana boys making tremendous strides to be in with the foremost. Captain Smith had the gun which he took upon the height, run down towards the breast-works, and fired into it. Then came Colonel P. F. Smith's men with a perfect rush, firing and cheering—the 5th and 7th, and Louisianians, reaching the ridge above nearly at the same time. The Mexicans fired us with grape, but it did not cause an instant's hesitation in our ranks. Our men ran, and fired, and cheered until they reached the work, the foremost entering at one end, while the Mexicans, about a thousand in number, left the other in retreat. The colours of the 5th infantry were instantly raised, and scarcely were they up before those of the 7th were alongside. The three commands entered the fort together—so close was the race—the 5th a little in advance. J. W. Miller, of Blanchard's company, was among the first four or five who entered. The three commands may be said to have come

out even in the race, for the 7th was not five seconds behind In less than five minutes the gun found in the fort was thundering away at the Bishop's Palace.

On the morning of the 21st, Colonel Childs, of the artillery battalion, with three of his companies—one commanded by Captain Vinton, another by Captain J. B. Scott, and the third by Lieutenant Ayres—and three companies of the 8th infantry—company A, commanded by Lieutenants Longstreet and Wainwright; company B, by Lieutenants Halloway and Merchant; company D, by Captain Scrivner and Lieutenant Montgomery—were ordered to take the summit of Palace Hill.

The colonel left the camp at three o'clock, A. M., and climbed the mountain through the chaparral, and up the steep rocks, with such secrecy, that at daybreak he was within one hundred yards of the breastwork of sandbags before he was discovered. Three of the artillerymen having rushed ahead too fast, found themselves in the hands of the Mexicans. They surrendered, and were shot down with the very pieces they had given up.

Colonel Staniford went up at daylight with the balance of the 8th, and Major Scott led up the 5th. The Louisiana troops were on the hill, with the 5th, at eight o'clock, A. M. One of Duncan's howitzers, in charge of Lieutenant Rowland, was dragged up, or rather *lifted* up, and opened on the palace, which was filled with troops. The Mexicans charged on the howitzer, but were driven back. A constant firing was kept up for several hours, particularly by Blanchard's men, who left a dozen Mexicans dead upon the hill-side. At length a charge was ordered, and our men rushed down upon the palace, entered a hole in a door that had been blocked up, but opened by the howitzer, and soon cleared the work of the few Mexicans who remained. Lieutenant Ayres was the lucky one who first reached the halyards and lowered the flag. One eighteen-pound brass piece, a beautiful article, manufactured in Liverpool in 1842, and a short brass twelve-pound howitzer, were captured, with a large quantity of ammunition, and some muskets and lances.

The fort adjoining the palace walls is not complete, but is



Street Fight on General Worth's side.

very neatly constructed as far as it is built. The killed on our side, in taking the palace, were seven—wounded, twelve. Lieutenant Wainwright was wounded in the side and arm by a musket-ball. Colonel Childs, Captain Vinton, Captain Blanchard, Lieutenant Longstreet, Lieutenant Clark, (adjutant of the 8th,) Lieutenant Ayres, Lieutenant McCown, and the two Nicholls, seem to have been the heroes of the day. The two latter performed prodigies, and not only Judge Nicholls, but old Louisiana may well be proud of such sons. The Mexicans lost at least thirty killed.

On the next day, the whole division under General Worth entered the town on the west side, and fought their way through the streets. The heart of the city was nothing but one fortification, the thick walls being pierced for muskets and cannon, and placed so as to rake the principal streets. The roofs being flat, and the front walls rising three or four feet above the roof, of course every street had a line of breastworks on each side. A ten-inch mortar came around from General Taylor, and was placed in the largest plaza, to which our troops fought step by step and from house to house. General Worth gained all the strongholds that commanded the city, and pushed the enemy as

far as they could go without falling into General Taylor's hands on the other side of the city. All this was done with the loss of only about seventy killed and wounded.

On the evening of the 23d, General Ampudia requested of the American commander that the women and children might be allowed to remove from the city, with their personal effects. This was refused. On the following morning, a proposal was offered, of surrendering the city on condition that the Mexicans might retain all the personal and military property belonging to it. This was refused but at the same time each general named commissioners to negotiate a capitulation. A personal interview subsequently took place between Taylor and Ampudia, and Monterey finally surrendered on the following terms.

ART. 1. As the legitimate result of the operations before this place, and the present position of the contending armies, it is agreed that the city, the fortifications, cannon, the munitions of war, and all other public property, with the under-mentioned exceptions, be surrendered to the commanding general of the United States forces now at Monterey.

ART. 2. That the Mexican forces be allowed to retain the following arms, to wit: the commissioned officers their side arms, the infantry their arms and accoutrements, the cavalry their arms and accoutrements, the artillery one field battery, not to exceed six pieces, with twenty-one rounds of ammunition.

ART. 3. That the Mexican armed forces retire within seven days from this date, beyond the line formed by the pass of the Rinconada, the city of Linares, and San Fernando de Presas.

ART. 4. That the citadel at Monterey be evacuated by the Mexican, and occupied by the American forces, to-morrow morning at ten o'clock.

ART. 5. To avoid collisions, and for mutual convenience, that the troops of the United States will not occupy the city until the Mexican forces have withdrawn, except for hospital and storage purposes.

ART. 6. That the forces of the United States will not advance beyond the line specified in the 2d [3d] article, before the expiration of eight weeks, or until the orders or instructions of the respective governments can be received.

ART. 7. That the public property to be delivered shall be turned over and received by officers appointed by the command ing generals of the two armies.

ART. 8. That all doubts as to the meaning of any of the preceding articles shall be solved by an equitable construction, and on principles of liberality to the retiring army.

ART. 9. That the Mexican flag, when struck at the citadel, may be saluted by its own battery.

Monterey became the main depot of General Taylor. It is an excellent city for the head-quarters of an army, being provided with every kind of defense, vast magazines for supplies, hospitals, stores, and good water. Soon after General Wool with the central division of the army, arrived at Monclova, from his famous march against Chihuahua. He was ordered with twenty-four hundred men and six field-pieces to Parras; and General Worth with twenty-five hundred men and eight pieces to Saltillo. Both these places were occupied without opposition



Worth at Monterey.



Santa Anna.

CHAPTER V.

Battle of Buena Vista.

A WEEK before the capture of Monterey, Santa Anna had received the appointment of military dictator, and immediately proceeded to San Luis Potosi, to hasten the raising of an efficient army. In November he found himself at the head of twenty thousand men, most of them raw recruits, and poorly equipped. It was his wish to clothe and discipline this force before marching against Taylor, but such was the popular clamour for immediate action, that faction began again to show herself. Some even denounced him as a traitor. Accordingly the general was obliged to sacrifice his superior judgment to the popular will, and in the same month we find him proceeding slowly toward his opponent's camp.

About this time General Taylor received a letter from the war department, announcing that the terms of capitulation at Monterey, had not met the approval of government, and directing him immediately to recommence hostilities. This he announced to Santa Anna, requesting at the same time the release of some prisoners detained at San Luis. The Mexican commander answered in a courteous manner, acknowledging the end of the truce, and liberated the prisoners, paying the expenses of their journey.

On the 15th of December, Taylor marched to meet his enemy. Information had been received that General Urrea, with a large body of cavalry, was threatening Victoria; and that Santa Anna with the main army was rapidly approaching Saltillo. General Patterson was in command at this place; and anxious for his safety, the commander sent General Quitman to join him with a reinforcement, and with the main army fell back to Monterey. But at this time Wool entered Saltillo with fresh troops, enabling General Taylor again to advance toward Victoria, which he reached on the 30th. At this place he received a letter from General Scott, requesting nearly all his regular troops for the campaign on the gulf coast, thus again forcing him to retire to Monterey. Here he remained until February, when the arrival of volunteers, swelling his force to five thousand men, enabled him again to press forward.

On the 2d of this month, General Santa Anna left San Luis Potosi, at the head of twenty-three thousand men, and after a march in which his troops sustained difficulties of the most appalling nature, he approached General Taylor's position [February 20th] at Agua Nueva. On the same day the latter broke up his camp, and retired to a strong mountain pass, called Angostura, three miles from the hacienda of Buena Vista. While removing some stores a small party of Americans was defeated by the Mexicans; and at noon on the 22d, General Taylor was summoned to surrender. We give his own account of the subsequent operations:

"Our troops were in position, occupying a line of remarkable strength. The road at its point becomes a narrow defile, the valley on its right being rendered quite impracticable for artillery

by a system of deep and impassable gulleys, while on the left a succession of rugged ridges and precipitous ravines extend far back toward the mountain which bounds the valley. The features of the ground were such as nearly to paralyze the artillery and cavalry of the enemy, while his infantry could not derive all the advantage of its numerical superiority. In this position we prepared to receive him. Captain Washington's battery (4th artillery) was posted to command the road, while the 1st and 2d Illinois regiments, under Colonels Hardin and Bissell, each eight companies, (to the latter of which was attached Captain Conner's company of Texas volunteers,) and the 2d Kentucky, under Colonel McKee, occupied the crests of the ridges on the left and in rear. The Arkansas and Kentucky regiments of cavalry, commanded by Colonels Yell and H. Marshall, occupied the extreme left near the base of the mountain, while the Indiana brigade, under Brigadier-General Lane, (composed of the 2d and 3d regiments, under Colonels Bowles and Lane,) the Mississippi riflemen, under Colonel Davis, the squadrons of the 1st and 2d dragoons, under Captain Steen and Lieutenant-Colonel May, and the light batteries of Captains Sherman and Bragg, 3d artillery, were held in reserve.

"At eleven o'clock I received from General Santa Anna a summons to surrender at discretion, which, with a copy of my reply, I have already transmitted. The enemy still forbore his attack, evidently waiting for the arrival of his rear columns, which could be distinctly seen by our look-outs as they approached the field. A demonstration made on his left caused me to detach the 2d Kentucky regiment and a section of artillery to our right, in which position they bivouacked for the night. In the mean time the Mexican light troops had engaged ours on the extreme left (composed of parts of the Kentucky and Arkansas cavalry, dismounted, and a rifle battalion from the Indiana brigade, under Major Gorman, the whole commanded by Colonel Marshall,) and kept up a sharp fire, climbing the mountain side, and apparently endeavouring to gain our flank. Three pieces of Captain Washington's battery had been detached to the left, and were supported by the 2d Indiana regiment. An occasional shell was thrown by the enemy into this

part of our line, but without effect. The skirmishing of the light troops was kept up with trifling loss on our part until dark, when I became convinced that no serious attack would be made before the morning, and returned, with the Mississippi regiment and squadron of 2d dragoons, to Saltillo. The troops bivouacked without fires, and laid upon their arms. A body of cavalry, some fifteen hundred strong, had been visible all day in rear of the town, having entered the valley through a narrow pass east of the city. This cavalry, commanded by General Minon, had evidently been thrown in our rear to break up and harass our retreat, and perhaps make some attempt against the town if practicable. The city was occupied by four excellent companies of Illinois volunteers, under Major Warren of the 1st regiment. A field-work, which commanded most of the approaches, was garrisoned by Captain Webster's company, 1st artillery, and armed with two twenty-four-pound howitzers, while the train and head-quarter camp was guarded by two companies of Mississippi riflemen, under Captain Rogers, and a field-piece commanded by Captain Shover, 3d artillery. Having made these dispositions for the protection of the rear, I proceeded on the morning of the 23d to Buena Vista, ordering forward all the other available troops. The action had commenced before my arrival on the field.

"During the evening and night of the 22d, the enemy had thrown a body of light troops on the mountain side, with the purpose of outflanking our left; and it was here that the action of the 23d commenced at an early hour. Our riflemen, under Colonel Marshall, who had been reinforced by three companies under Major Trail, 2d Illinois volunteers, maintained their ground handsomely against a greatly superior force, holding themselves under cover, and using their weapons with deadly effect. About eight o'clock a strong demonstration was made against the centre of our position, a heavy column moving along the road. This force was soon dispersed by a few rapid and well-directed shots from Captain Washington's battery. In the mean time the enemy was concentrating a large force of infantry and cavalry under cover of the ridges, with the obvious intention of forcing our left, which was posted on an extensive plateau.

The 2d Indiana, and 2d Illinois regiments formed this part of our line, the former covering three pieces of light artillery, under the orders of Captain O'Brien—Brigadier-General Lane being in the immediate command. In order to bring his men within effective range, General Lane ordered the artillery and 2d Indiana regiment forward. The artillery advanced within musket range of a heavy body of Mexican infantry, and was served against it with great effect, but without being able to check its advance. The infantry ordered to its support had fallen back in disorder, being exposed, as well as the battery, not only to a severe fire of small arms from the front, but also to a murderous cross-fire of grape and canister from a Mexican battery on the left. Captain O'Brien found it impossible to retain his position without support, but was only able to withdraw two of his pieces, all the horses and cannoneers of the third piece being killed or disabled. The 2d Indiana regiment, which had fallen back as stated, could not be rallied, and took no further part in the action, except a handful of men, who, under its gallant colonel, Bowles, joined the Mississippi regiment, and did good service, and those fugitives, who, at a later period in the day, assisted in defending the train and depot at Buena Vista. This portion of our line having given way, and the enemy appearing in overwhelming force against our left flank, the light troops which had rendered such good service on the mountain were compelled to withdraw, which they did, for the most part, in good order. Many, however, were not rallied until they reached the depot at Buena Vista, to the defense of which they afterwards contributed.

"Colonel Bissell's regiment, (2d Illinois,) which had been joined by a section of Captain Sherman's battery, had become completely outflanked, and was compelled to fall back, being entirely unsupported. The enemy was now pouring masses of infantry and cavalry along the base of the mountain on our left, and was gaining our rear in great force. At this moment I arrived upon the field. The Mississippi regiment had been directed to the left before reaching the position, and immediately came into action against the Mexican infantry which had turned our flank. The 2d Kentucky regiment, and a section of artil-



Battle of Buena Vista.

lery under Captain Bragg, had previously been ordered from the right to reinforce our left, and arrived at a most opportune moment. That regiment, and a portion of the 1st Illinois, under Colonel Hardin, gallantly drove the enemy, and recovered a portion of the ground we had lost. The batteries of Captains Sherman and Bragg were in position on the plateau, and did much execution, not only in front, but particularly upon the masses which had gained our rear. Discovering that the enemy was heavily pressing upon the Mississippi regiment, the 3d Indiana regiment, under Colonel Lane, was despatched to strengthen that part of our line, which formed a crotchet perpendicular to the first line of battle. At the same time Lieutenant Kilburn, with a piece of Captain Bragg's battery, was directed to support the infantry there engaged. The action was, for a long time, warmly sustained at that point—the enemy making several efforts, both with infantry and cavalry, against our line, and being always repulsed with heavy loss. I had placed all the regular cavalry, and Captain Pike's squadron of Arkansas horse, under the orders of Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel May, with directions to hold in check the enemy's column, still advancing to the rear along the base of the mountain, which was done in conjunction with the Kentucky and Arkansas cavalry under Colonels Marshall and Yell.

"In the mean time our left, which was still strongly threatened by a superior force, was farther strengthened by the detachment of Captain Bragg's, and a portion of Captain Sherman's batteries to that quarter. The concentration of artillery fire upon the masses of the enemy along the base of the mountain, and the determined resistance offered by the two regiments opposed to them, had created confusion in their ranks, and some of the corps attempted to effect a retreat upon their main line of battle. The squadron of the 1st dragoons, under Lieutenant Rucker, was now ordered up the deep ravine which these retreating corps were endeavouring to cross, in order to charge and disperse them. The squadron proceeded to the point indicated, but could not accomplish the object, being exposed to a heavy fire from a battery established to cover the retreat of those corps. While the squadron was detached on this service, a large body of the enemy was observed to concentrate on our extreme left, apparently with a view of making a descent upon the hacienda of Buena Vista, where our train and baggage were deposited. Lieutenant-Colonel May was ordered to the support of that point, with two pieces of Captain Sherman's battery under Lieutenant Reynolds. In the mean time, the scattered forces near the hacienda, composed in part of Majors Trail and Gorman's commands, had been, to some extent, organized under the advice of Major Munroe, chief of artillery, with the assistance of Major Morrison, volunteer staff, and were posted to defend the position. Before our cavalry had reached the hacienda, that of the enemy had made its attack; having been handsomely met by the Kentucky and Arkansas cavalry under Colonels Marshall and Yell. The Mexican column immediately divided, one portion sweeping by the depot, where it received a destructive fire from the force which had collected there, and then gaining the mountain opposite, under a fire from Lieutenant Reynold's section, the remaining portion regaining the base of the mountain on our left. In the charge at Buena Vista, Colonel Yell fell gallantly at the head of his regiment; we also lost Adjutant Vaughan, of the Kentucky cavalry—a young officer of much promise. Lieutenant-Colonel May, who had been rejoined by the squadron of the 1st dragoons, and by portions of the Arkansas and Indiana



General Taylor at Buena Vista.

troops, under Lieutenant-Colonel Roane and Major Gorman, now approached the base of the mountain, holding in check the right flank of the enemy, upon whose masses, crowded in the narrow gorges and ravines, our artillery was doing fearful execution.

"The position of that portion of the Mexican army which had gained our rear was now very critical, and it seemed doubtful whether it could regain the main body. At this moment I received from General Santa Anna a message by a staff officer, desiring to know what I wanted? I immediately despatched Brigadier-General Wool to the Mexican general-in-chief, and sent orders to cease firing. Upon reaching the Mexican lines General Wool could not cause the enemy to cease their fire, and accordingly returned without having an interview. The extreme right of the enemy continued its retreat along the base of the mountain, and finally, in spite of all our efforts, effected a junction with the remainder of the army.

"During the day, the cavalry of General Minon had ascended the elevated plain above Saltillo, and occupied the road from the city to the field of battle, where they intercepted several of our men. Approaching the town, they were fired upon by Captain Webster from the redoubt occupied by his company, and then moved off towards the eastern side of the valley, and obliquely

towards Buena Vista. At this time, Captain Shover moved rapidly forward with his piece, supported by a miscellaneous command of mounted volunteers, and fired several shots at the cavalry with great effect. They were driven into the ravines which lead to the lower valley, closely pursued by Captain Shover, who was farther supported by a piece of Captain Webster's battery, under Lieutenant Donaldson, which had advanced from the redoubt, supported by Captain Wheeler's company of Illinois volunteers. The enemy made one or two efforts to charge the artillery, but was finally driven back in a confused mass, and did not again appear upon the plain.

"In the mean time, the firing had partially ceased upon the principal field. The enemy seemed to confine his efforts to the protection of his artillery, and I had left the plateau for a moment, when I was recalled thither by a very heavy musketry fire. On regaining that position, I discovered that our infantry (Illinois and 2d Kentucky) had engaged a greatly superior force of the enemy—evidently his reserve—and that they had been overwhelmed by numbers. The moment was most critical. Captain O'Brien, with two pieces, had sustained this heavy charge to the last, and was finally obliged to leave his guns on the field—his infantry support being entirely routed. Captain Bragg, who had just arrived from the left, was ordered at once into battery. Without any infantry to support him, and at the imminent risk of losing his guns, this officer came rapidly into action, the Mexican line being but a few yards from the muzzle of his pieces. The first discharge of canister caused the enemy to hesitate, the second and third drove him back in disorder, and saved the day. The 2d Kentucky regiment, which had advanced beyond supporting distance in this affair, was driven back and closely pressed by the enemy's cavalry. Taking a ravine which led in the direction of Captain Washington's battery, their pursuers became exposed to his fire, which soon checked and drove them back with loss. In the mean time, the rest of our artillery had taken position on the plateau, covered by the Mississippi and 3d Indiana regiments, the former of which had reached the ground in time to pour a fire into the right flank of the enemy, and thus contribute to his repulse. In this last conflict

we had the misfortune to sustain a very heavy loss, Colonel Hardin, 1st Illinois, and Colonel McKee and Lieutenant-Colonel Clay, 2d Kentucky regiment, fell at this time while gallantly leading their commands.

"No farther attempt was made by the enemy to force our position, and the approach of night gave an opportunity to pay proper attention to the wounded, and also to refresh the soldiers, who had been exhausted by incessant watchfulness and combat. Though the night was severely cold, the troops were compelled for the most to bivouac without fires, expecting that morning would renew the conflict. During the night the wounded were removed to Saltillo, and every preparation made to receive the enemy, should he again attack our position. Seven fresh companies were drawn from the town, and Brigadier-General Marshall, with a reinforcement of Kentucky cavalry and four heavy guns, under Captain Prentiss, 1st artillery, was near at hand, when it was discovered that the enemy had abandoned his position during the night. Our scouts soon ascertained that he had fallen back upon Agua Nueva. The great disparity of numbers, and the exhaustion of our troops, rendered it inexpedient and hazardous to attempt pursuit. A staff officer was despatched to General Santa Anna to negotiate an exchange of prisoners, which was satisfactorily completed on the following day. Our own dead were collected and buried, and the Mexican wounded, of which a large number had been left upon the field, were removed to Saltillo, and rendered as comfortable as circumstances would permit.

"On the evening of the 26th, a close reconnoissance was made of the enemy's position, which was found to be occupied only by a small body of cavalry, the infantry and artillery having retreated in the direction of San Luis Potosi. On the 27th, our troops resumed their former camp at Agua Nueva, the enemy's rear-guard evacuating the place as we approached, leaving a considerable number of wounded. It was my purpose to beat up his quarters at Encarnacion early the next morning, but upon examination, the weak condition of the cavalry horses rendered it unadvisable to attempt so long a march without water. A command was finally despatched to Encarnacion, on

the 1st of March, under Colonel Belknap. Some two hundred wounded, and about sixty Mexican soldiers were found there, the army having passed on in the direction of Matehuala, with greatly reduced numbers, and suffering much from hunger. The dead and dying were strewed upon the road and crowded the buildings of the hacienda.

The American force engaged in the action of Buena Vista is shown, by the accompanying field report, to have been three hundred and forty-four officers, and four thousand four hundred and twenty-five men, exclusive of the small command left in and near Saltillo. Of this number, two squadrons of cavalry and three batteries of light artillery, making not more than four hundred and fifty-three men, composed the only force of regular troops. The strength of the Mexican army is stated by General Santa Anna, in his summons, to be twenty thousand; and that estimate is confirmed by all the information since obtained. Our loss is two hundred and sixty-seven killed, four hundred and fifty-six wounded, and twenty-three missing. Of the numerous wounded, many did not require removal to the hospital, and it is hoped that a comparatively small number will be permanently disabled. The Mexican loss in killed and wounded may be fairly estimated at fifteen hundred, and will probably reach two thousand. At least five hundred of their killed were left upon the field of battle. We have no means of ascertaining the number of deserters and dispersed men from their ranks, but it is known to be very great.

"Our loss has been especially severe in officers, twenty-eight having been killed upon the field. We have to lament the death of Captain George Lincoln, assistant adjutant-general, serving in the staff of General Wool—a young officer of high bearing and approved gallantry, who fell early in the action. No loss falls more heavily upon the army in the field than that of Colonels Hardin and McKee, and Lieutenant-Colonel Clay. Possessing, in a remarkable degree, the confidence of their commands, and the last two having enjoyed the advantage of a military education, I had looked particularly to them for support in case we met the enemy. I need not say that their zeal in engaging the enemy, and the cool and steadfast courage with

which they maintained their positions during the day, fully realized my hopes, and caused me to feel yet more sensibly their untimely loss."

The artillery was the arm which won the battle of Buena Vista; and none distinguished themselves more in its management than Captains O'Brien and Bragg. They sustained, singly, the charge of the whole body of the enemy's lancers, a force numbering some thousands more than their own; and although each moment expecting that the crushing avalanche would sweep over guns and horses, yet they remained firm at their post, until victory was certain. The situation of O'Brien was peculiarly trying. A tremendous cross fire of the enemy swept across the field, whistling and rattling on the stony surface, and driving back the small body of infantry which had been ordered to support him. At that moment he paused, and looking behind, the danger of his situation burst upon him. Before him were the heavy columns of lancers, their trampling horses crowding upon each other, and the long rows of lances glittering and dancing in the sunshine; in the rear and flanks were the infantry, whose artillery had already driven away his only support. If he yielded, the day was lost; if he stood, he might be crushed to pieces. Two horses had fallen under him, and he had received a wound in the leg. Most of his cannoneers were dead or wounded, and some of the guns perfectly idle. He resolved to stand. Riding round and round his guns, he cheered his men for the terrible encounter, and exhorted them not to fire until the cavalry were within a few yards of the muzzles. On they came, shaking the earth under the gallop of their horses. Nearer and nearer they drew, until the raised hoof almost struck the cannon, when a roar like thunder burst forth, and scores of steeds and riders reeled back upon their startled companions. Then for a moment all was confusion, and the huge mass swayed to and fro in fearful uncertainty. But they again formed, and prepared for a decisive struggle. This was a fearful moment; hundreds of anxious eyes were bent intensely on the few devoted men, who were thus battling in the jaws of death. At this moment, the steadiness of the young cannoneers forsook them. They were unable to maintain their stations, and their captain grew pale

with excitement, as he felt that victory was wrenched from his grasp. Slowly and sternly he left his guns, and retired to join the other artillery. But he was not unrewarded; he had remained long enough to enable reinforcements to arrive; and to him, as much as to any man on the field, was the final victory owing.

Equally perilous was the service of Captain Bragg. All day his force was moving over the field, engaged at every point where it could be of any avail. When we remember that all his movements were across rocks and gulleys where it was almost impossible to travel, we will have a better idea of their importance. Charge after charge was made upon him, and often he was forced to leave his heaviest artillery in some unprotected position, in order to arrive at a threatened position in time to be of service. He thus describes his last encounter with the enemy: "Knowing the importance of my presence, I left some of my heaviest carriages, and pushed on with such as could move most rapidly. Having gained a point from which my guns could be used, I put them in battery and loaded with canister. Now, for the first time, I felt the imminent peril in which we stood. Our infantry was routed, our advanced artillery captured, and the enemy in heavy force coming upon us at a run. Feeling that the day depended upon the successful stand of our artillery, I appealed to the commanding general, who was near, for support. None was to be had; and, under his instructions to maintain our position at every hazard, I returned to my battery, encouraged my men, and when the enemy arrived within good range, poured forth the canister as rapidly as my guns could be loaded. At the first discharge I observed the enemy falter, and in a short time he was in full retreat. A very heavy loss must have been sustained by him, however, before he got beyond our range. My guns were now advanced several hundred yards, and opened on a position held by the enemy, with a battery of heavier calibre than our own—the same from which our left flank had been driven in the afternoon. Under the support of the Mississippi regiment, I continued my fire until convinced that nothing could be effected—the enemy holding an eminence from which we could not dislodge him without a sacrifice which might compromise the success of the day. About sunset I with-

drew my battery into the ravine in rear of our line, and took a position for the night from which I could readily move to any assailable point. Here I remained, officers and men on the alert, and horses in harness."

Had the Mexicans managed their artillery with the same bravery as did these two intrepid officers, the American army must have been cut to pieces. Captain Bragg discharged *two hundred and fifty* rounds of ammunition from each of his guns; and during the whole battle, the ground seemed to reel with the incessant peals of heavy cannon. As the batteries poured forth their fiery showers, whole companies sunk shrieking to the ground; and in the morning, the masses of dead and dying, piled upon one another, told a fearful narrative of the artillery of the preceding day.

The evening of the 23d found both armies in the same relative position, and on the same ground they had occupied in the morning. During the night, however, Santa Anna withdrew his shattered forces toward Potosi. The Americans expected an attack before morning, and were prepared for it; but, under cover of the darkness, Santa Anna withdrew his starving followers to Agua Nueva. Soon afterward General Taylor fell back toward Monterey.

On the 2d of March an escort of two hundred men, and a train of one hundred and fifty wagons, under Major Giddings, was attacked by General Urrea, at the head of a large party of lancers. The attack was so sudden that the train and escort were divided into two parties, the smaller of which Urrea summoned to surrender. A desultory conflict ensued in which the Americans succeeded in reuniting, and repelling their opponents with the loss of about forty. The major had two soldiers killed and fifteen teamsters. He proceeded without further molestation to Seralvo, where Colonel Curtis arrived in a few days with reinforcements, and assumed command. The whole party then commenced a pursuit of Urrea, which was continued until the 16th, when it met General Taylor with a portion of the main army, also in pursuit. The whole force consisting of May's dragoons, Bragg's artillery, and Colonel Curtis's men, led by General Taylor, pushed after the Mexicans with renewed

vigour; but, notwithstanding every exertion, Urrea succeeded in escaping beyond the mountains.

After this pursuit, General Taylor retired to Walnut Springs, where, on account of the small number of his troops, he was obliged to remain inactive during the summer and fall of 1847. In December he visited the United States, intending to remain with his family until his services should be further required by government.



Head Muleteer and Servant.



Brigadier-General Stephen W. Kearny.

CHAPTER VI.

Occupation of California and New Mexico.

IN May, 1846, President Polk was authorized by Congress to accept the services of fifty thousand volunteers, to continue the war which had commenced on the Rio Grande. Of this number ten companies composed a force destined to act against Santa Fe. They were formed of five companies United States dragoons, two of foot, two light artillery, and one volunteer horse. This army was placed under the direction of Colonel Stephen W. Kearny, who, in a confidential letter from Secretary Marcy, dated June 3d, 1846, received in substance the following instructions: To or

ganize for the expedition an additional force of one thousand men, in order to proceed from Santa Fe against Upper California; to establish a government there after taking possession; to receive as volunteers a number of Mormon and other emigrants, recently settled in the province; to co-operate with the naval force in the Pacific; to open trade with the Indians; and to respect the rights of the Californians. The letter concludes as follows: "I am directed by the president to say that the rank of brevet brigadier-general will be conferred on you as soon as you commence your movement towards California, and sent round to you by sea, or over the country, or to the care of the commandant of our squadron in the Pacific. In that way cannon, arms, ammunition, and supplies for the land forces, will be sent you."

The depot of Kearny's force was Fort Leavensworth. On the 27th of June his advance commenced its march; and by the 1st of August more than sixteen hundred men were concentrated at Bent's fort, having marched a distance of five hundred and sixty-four miles. The march was resumed on the 3d, and after a toilsome journey over frightful prairies, they arrived, August 12th, at the mountains near the Rio Grande.

Signs of hostility now began to appear; and messages arrived from General Armigo, governor of Santa Fe, requesting Kearny to advance no further, or at least to consent to negotiations for peace. The tone of these was dignified but earnest. The American commander replied that he came to take possession; that the peaceable inhabitants should be well treated, but that the vengeance of both army and government would be poured upon all others. On the march the colonel received a despatch from government constituting him brigadier-general.

On the 18th of August General Kearny took possession of Santa Fe, in the name of the United States. The oath of allegiance was administered to the alcalde and inhabitants, and a military territorial government established. No opposition was experienced, Governor Armigo and his army having fled at the approach of the Americans. General Kearny was proclaimed governor, erected a fort, (called Fort Marcy,) and published a proclamation to the inhabitants.

After seeing every thing in a state of tranquillity, General Kearny commenced his march, September 25th, for the distant region of California.

Before the general had accomplished this arduous undertaking, Colonel Doniphan, with his citizen volunteers, commenced one of equal magnitude, and pregnant with events of paramount importance. When Kearny left Santa Fe he ordered the colonel to proceed as soon as practicable into Chihuahua, and report to General Wool, who with the centre division had been intrusted with the conquering of that province.



ON the 17th of December, Doniphan, with nine hundred and twenty-four men, began his expedition. On the 24th they reached the Jornada lake, into which runs the Brazito river, more than twenty miles from the Passo del Norte, of the eastern mountain range. Here they were informed that the Mexicans, to the number of one thousand, were collected at the Pass, ready for an attack. The Americans numbered about six hundred, the remainder being sick. On the afternoon of the following day, (Christmas,) the enemy were seen approaching, and, when within eight hundred yards, extended themselves so as to cover the American flank. An officer approached, carrying a black flag, and after proclaiming no quarters, rejoined his column, which immediately charged at a rapid gallop. The conflict was but short—the Mexicans being defeated with the loss of thirty killed, and driven into the mountains. Eight were captured, six of whom subsequently died; and their single piece of cannon was also taken. The Americans had seven wounded. On the 27th Doniphan entered the town of El Passo, without resistance, where he was reinforced by Major Clark's artillery.

On the 8th of February, 1847, the whole command (nine hundred and twenty-four men) left the Passo del Norte, and marched for Chihuahua. On the 28th they fought the great battle of Sacramento. This action, with the position itself, is thus described by Colonel Doniphan:

"The Pass of the Sacramento is formed by a point of the mountains on our right, (their left,) extending into the valley or

plain, so as to narrow the valley to about one and a half miles. On our left was a deep dry sandy channel of a creek, and between these points the plain rises to sixty feet abruptly. This rise is in the form of a crescent, the convex part being to the north of our forces. On the right from the point of mountains, a narrow part of the plain extends north one and a half miles further than on the left. The main road passes down the centre of the valley, and across the crescent near the left or dry branch. The Sacramento rises in the mountains on the right, and the road falls on to it about one mile below the battle field or intrenchment of the enemy. We ascertained that the enemy had one battery of four guns, two nine and six-pounders on the point of the mountain, (their left,) at a good elevation to sweep the plain; and at a point where the mountain extended furthest into the plain. On our left (their right) they had another battery on an elevation commanding the road, and three intrenchments of two six-pounders, and on the brow of the crescent near the centre, another of two six, and two four and six culverins, or rampart pieces mounted on carriages; and on the crest of the hill, or ascent between the batteries, and the right and left, they had twenty-seven redoubts dug and thrown up, extending at short intervals across the whole ground. In these their infantry were placed and were entirely protected. Their cavalry was drawn up in front of the redoubts, four deep, and in rear of the redoubts, two deep, so as to mask them as far as practicable. * *

"We now commenced the action by a brisk fire from our battery, and the enemy unmasked and commenced also. Our fire proved effective at this distance, killing fifteen men, wounding and disabling one of the enemy's guns. We had two men slightly wounded, and several horses and mules killed. The enemy then slowly retreated behind their works in some confusion, and we resumed our march in our former order, still diverging more to the right to avoid their battery on our left, and their strongest redoubts which were on the left near where the road passes * * * The howitzers charged at speed, and were gallantly sustained by Captain Reid; but by some misunderstanding my order was not given to the other two companies, Parsons's and Hudson's. Captain Hudson, anticipating my

order, charged in time to give ample support to the howitzers. Captain Parsons at the same moment came to me, and asked permission for his company to charge the redoubts immediately to the left of Captain Wrightman, which he did very gallantly.

"The remainder of the two battalions of the first regiment were dismounted during the cavalry charge, and following rapidly on foot, and Major Clark advancing as rapidly as practicable, with the remainder of the battery, we charged their redoubts from right to left, with a brisk and deadly fire of riflemen, while Major Clark opened a rapid and well-directed fire on a column of cavalry, attempting to pass to our left so as to attack the wagons and our rear. The fire was so well directed as to force them to fall back, and our riflemen with their cavalry and howitzers, cleared it after an obstinate resistance. Our forces advanced to the very brink of their redoubts, and attacked them with their sabres. When the redoubts were cleared, and the batteries in the centre and our left were silenced, the main battery on our right still continued to pour in a constant and heavy fire, as it had done during the heat of the engagement; but as the whole fate of the battle depended upon carrying the redoubts and centre battery, this one on the right remained unattacked, and the enemy had rallied there five hundred strong.



MAJOR CLARK was directed to commence a heavy fire upon it, while Lieutenant-Colonels Mitchell and Jackson, commanding the first battalion, were ordered to remount and charge the battery on the left, while Major Gilpin was directed to pass the second battalion on foot, up the rough ascent of the mountain on the opposite side. The fire of our battery was so effective as to completely silence theirs, and the rapid advance of our column put them to flight over the mountains in great confusion.

"Thus ended the battle of Sacramento. The force of the enemy was twelve hundred cavalry from Durango and Chihuahua, three hundred artillerists, and fourteen hundred and twenty rancheros, badly armed with lassoes, lances, and machetos, or corn knives, ten

pieces of artillery, two nine, two eight, four six, and two four-pounders, and six culverins, or rampart pieces. * * * * Our force was nine hundred and twenty-four effective men; at least one hundred of whom were engaged in holding horses and driving teams. The loss of the enemy was his entire artillery, ten wagons, masses of beans and pinola, and other Mexican provisions, about three hundred killed, about the same number wounded, many of whom have since died, and forty prisoners. The field was literally covered with the dead and wounded, from our artillery and the unerring fire of our riflemen. Night put a stop to the carnage, the battle having commenced about three o'clock. Our loss was one killed, one mortally wounded, and seven so wounded as to recover without any loss of limbs."

On the 1st of March Colonel Doniphan took possession of Chihuahua, where he remained three weeks. At the end of this time, having received orders from General Wool, he marched, April 25th, for Saltillo. On the road, Captain Reid defeated about fifty Indians near El Passo, May 13th, capturing one thousand horses. On the 22d of May the command reached Wool's encampment, and on the 27th, that of General Taylor.

As the term of service of these gallant men had expired, they now commenced their return. Early in June they marched through Matamoras, and on the 16th, arrived at New Orleans. Their reception was most enthusiastic, and they set out for their homes laden with the honours and congratulations of a benefited republic.

Meanwhile a military and naval force under the direction, first, of Commodore Sloat, and afterwards of Commodore Stockton, had taken possession of California and published a proclamation to the inhabitants, claiming it as part of the United States. The head-quarters of his forces was the Ciudad de los Angelos. An elective government was established, officers elected, and a tariff on imports established. Stockton then proceeded to San Francisco. The fleet in the meanwhile blockaded the entire coast of California, and on the 19th of November, 1846, captured the town of Panuco.

While the commodore was congratulating himself upon the favourable condition of affairs, the inhabitants of los Angelos



Capture of Panuco.

suddenly arose in revolt, and compelled the surrender of Captain Gillespie, with thirty men. Immediately after the whole region south of Monterey (California) were in arms. Stockton, accompanied by Colonel Fremont, hastened back, and commenced a desultory war with the insurrectionists, which lasted until January, 1847, when, in the battle of San Gabriel (8th and 9th) the Mexicans were defeated, and subordination restored. Kearny, who had lately arrived in California, was the acting officer in this battle.

A dispute now arose between Kearny and Stockton concerning the government of California. The former produced his commission as governor from the president; but for several reasons, Stockton declared it null, and in his despatches, relating to the battle of San Gabriel, omits all mention of assistance from the general. To this opinion Colonel Fremont assented. Kearny submitted until the arrival of reinforcements, when Stockton left the territory, and the general arrested Fremont, and sent him to the United States. After a most thorough investigation, which lasted more than two months, he was found guilty of mutiny, disobedience of orders, and unofficer-like conduct, and sentenced to be dismissed from the army. Being recommended, however, to the clemency of the president, the sentence was remitted, and the colonel immediately reported for duty.



General Worth.

CHAPTER VII.

Capture of Vera Cruz.



N receiving news of the actual commencement of hostilities, at the Rio Grande, General Scott commander-in-chief of the American army, requested of government privilege to join the army of occupation with a large force, and push forward rapidly for the Mexican capital. This was refused, and the commander obliged to remain inactive until November, when he received orders to repair immediately to the seat of war. Accordingly he reached the Rio Grande, January 1st, 1847.

Scott's sphere of operations was different from that of Taylor. With his own troops, and those drawn from the army of occupation, (numbering altogether about twelve thousand,) he had been ordered to proceed against the city of Vera Cruz and its castle, as the first step in a grand scale of operations, the destination of which was the city of Mexico.

After considerable delay in completing necessary arrangements, the fleet under Commodore Conner, having on board the commander and his army, arrived off Vera Cruz. The landing is thus described by the commodore himself:

"The anchorage near this place being extremely contracted, it became necessary, in order to avoid crowding it with an undue number of vessels, to transfer most of the troops to the vessels of war for transportation to Sacrificios. Accordingly, on the morning of the 9th, at daylight, all necessary preparations—such as launching and numbering the boats, detailing officers, &c.—having been previously made, this transfer was commenced. The frigates received on board between twenty-five and twenty-eight hundred men each, with their arms and accoutrements, and the sloops and smaller vessels numbers in proportion. This part of the movement was completed very successfully about eleven o'clock, A. M., and a few minutes thereafter the squadron under my command, accompanied by the commanding general, in the steamship Massachusetts, and such of the transports as had been selected for the purpose, got under way.

"The weather was very fine—indeed we could not have been more favoured in this particular than we were. We had a fresh and yet gentle breeze from the south-east, and a perfectly smooth sea. The passage to Sacrificios occupied us between two and three hours. Each ship came in and anchored without the slightest disorder or confusion, in the small space allotted to her—the harbour being still very much crowded, notwithstanding the number of transports we had left behind. The disembarkation commenced on the instant.

"Whilst we were transferring the troops from the ships to the surf-boats, (sixty-five in number,) I directed the steamers Spitfire and Vixen, and the five gun-boats, to form a line parallel

with and close in to the beach, to cover the landing. This order was promptly executed, and these small vessels, from the lightness of their draft, were enabled to take positions within good grape-range of the shore. As the boats severally received their complements of troops, they assembled in a line, abreast, between the fleet and the gun-boats; and when all were ready, they pulled in together, under the guidance of a number of officers of the squadron, who had been detailed for this purpose. General Worth commanded this, the first line of the army, and had the satisfaction of forming his command on the beach and neighboring heights just before sunset. Four thousand five hundred men were thus thrown on shore, almost simultaneously. No enemy appeared to offer us the slightest opposition. The first line being landed, the boats in successive trips relieved the men-of-war and transports of the remaining troops by ten o'clock, P. M. The whole army, save a few straggling companies, consisting of upwards of ten thousand men, were thus safely deposited on shore, without the slightest accident of any kind.

"The officers and seamen under my command vied with each other, on this occasion, in a zealous and energetic performance of their duty. I cannot but express [illegible]

[illegible]



Siege of Vera Cruz.

of the two papers (marked respectively, A and B) are herewith inclosed.

"It will be perceived that the governer, who it turns out is the commander of both places, chose, against the plain terms of the summons, to suppose me to have demanded the surrender of the castle and of the city—when, in fact, from the non-arrival of our heavy metal—principally mortars—I was in no condition to threaten the former.

"On the return of the flag with that reply, I at once ordered the seven mortars, in battery, to open upon the city. In a short time the smaller vessels of Commodore Perry's squadron—two steamers and five schooners—according to previous arrangement with him, approached the city within about a mile and an eighth, whence, being partially covered from the castle—an essential condition to their safety—they also opened a brisk fire upon the city. This has been continued, uninterruptedly, by the mortars, only with a few intermissions, by the vessels, up to nine o'clock this

morning, when the commodore very properly called them off a position too daringly assumed.

"Our three remaining mortars are now (twelve o'clock, M) in battery, and the whole ten in activity. To-morrow, early, if the city should continue obstinate, batteries Nos. 4 and 5 will be ready to add their fire: No. 4, consisting of four twenty-four-pounders and two eight-inch paixhan guns, and No. 5, (naval battery,) of three thirty-two-pounders and three eight-inch paixhans—the guns, officers, and sailors landed from the squadron—our friends of the navy being unremitting in their zealous co-operation, in every mode and form.

"So far, we know that our fire upon the city has been highly effective—particularly from the batteries of ten-inch mortars, planted at about eight hundred yards from the city. Including the preparation and defense of the batteries, from the beginning—now many days—and notwithstanding the heavy fire of the enemy from city and castle, we have only had four or five men wounded, and one officer and one man killed, in or near the trenches. That officer was Captain John R. Vinton, of the United States 3d artillery, one of the most talented, accomplished, and effective members of the army, and was highly distinguished in the brilliant operations at Monterey. He fell, last evening, in the trenches, where he was on duty as field and commanding officer, universally regretted. I have just attended his honoured remains to a soldier's grave, in full view of the enemy, and within reach of his guns.

"Thirteen of the long-needed mortars—leaving twenty-seven, besides heavy guns, behind—have arrived, and two of them landed. A heavy norther then set in (at meridian) which stopped that operation, and also the landing of shells. Hence the fire of our mortar batteries has been slackened, since two o'clock to-day, and cannot be reinvigorated until we shall again have a smooth sea. In the mean time I shall leave this report open for journalizing events that may occur up to the departure of the steamship of war Princeton, with Commodore Conner, who, I learn, expects to leave the anchorage off Sacrificios, for the United States, the 25th instant.

"March 24.—The storm having subsided in the night, we

commenced this forenoon, as soon as the sea became a little smooth, to land shot, shells, and mortars.

"The naval battery, No. 5, was opened, with great activity, under Captain Aulick, the second in rank of the squadron, at about ten A. M. His fire was continued to two o'clock, P. M., a little before he was relieved by Captain Mayo, who landed with a fresh supply of ammunition—Captain A. having exhausted the supply he had brought with him. He lost four sailors, killed, and had one officer, Lieutenant Baldwin, slightly hurt.

"The mortar batteries, Nos. 1, 2, and 3, have fired but languidly during the day, for the want of shells, which are now going out from the beach.

"Battery No. 4, which will mount four twenty-four-pounders and two eight-inch paixhan guns, has been much delayed in the hands of the indefatigable engineers by the norther, that filled up the work with sand nearly as fast as it could be opened by the half-blinded labourers. It will, however, doubtless be in full activity early to-morrow morning.

"March 25. All the batteries, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, are in awful activity this morning. The effect is, no doubt, very great, and I think the city cannot hold out beyond to-day. To-morrow morning many of the new mortars will be in a position to add their fire, when, or after the delay of some twelve hours, if no proposition to surrender should be received, I shall organize parties for carrying the city by assault. So far the defense has been spirited and obstinate.

"I inclose a copy of a memorial received last night, signed by the consuls of Great Britain, France, Spain, and Prussia, within Vera Cruz, asking me to grant a truce to enable the neutrals, together with Mexican women and children to withdraw from the scene of havoc about them. I shall reply, the moment that an opportunity may be taken, to say—First, That a truce can only be granted on the application of Governor Morales, with a view to surrender; second, That in sending safeguards to the different consuls, beginning as far back as the 13th instant, I distinctly admonished them, particularly the French and Spanish consuls—and, of course, through the two, the other consuls—of the dangers that have followed; third, That

although, at that date, I had already refused to allow any person whatsoever to pass the line of investment either way, yet the blockade had been left open to the consuls and other neutrals to pass out to their respective ships of war up to the 22d instant; and, fourth, I shall inclose to the memorialists a copy of my summons to the governor, to show that I had fully considered the impending hardships and distresses of the place, including those of women and children, before one gun had been fired in that direction. The intercourse between the neutral ships of war and the city was stopped at the last-mentioned date by Commodore Perry, with my concurrence, which I placed on the ground that that intercourse could not fail to give to the enemy *moral aid and comfort.*

"It will be seen from the memorial, that our batteries have already had a terrible effect on the city, (also known through other sources,) and hence the inference that a surrender must soon be proposed."

In a subsequent letter he writes:

"The flag of the United States of America floats triumphantly over the walls of this city and the castle of St. Juan de Ulloa.

"Our troops have garrisoned both since ten o'clock. It is now noon. Brigadier-General Worth is in command of the two places.

"Articles of capitulation were signed and exchanged at a late hour night before the last.

"I have heretofore reported the principal incidents of the siege, up to the 25th instant. Nothing of striking interest occurred, until early in the morning of the next day, when I received overtures from General Landero, on whom General Morales had devolved the principal command. A terrible storm of wind and sand made it difficult to communicate with the city, and impossible to refer to Commodore Perry. I was obliged to entertain the proposition alone, or to continue the fire upon a place that had shown a disposition to surrender; for the loss of a day, or perhaps several, could not be permitted.

"Yesterday, after the norther had abated, and the commissioners appointed by me early the morning before had again met those appointed by General Landero, Commodore Perry sent



American Fleet saluting the Castle after its surrender.

ashore his second in command, Captain Aulick, as a commissioner on the part of the navy. Although not included in my specific arrangement made with the Mexican commander, I did not hesitate, with proper courtesy, to desire that Captain Aulick might be duly introduced and allowed to participate in the discussions and acts of the commissioners who had been reciprocally accredited. The original American commissioners were, Brevet Brigadier-General Worth, Brigadier-General Pillow, and Colonel Totten. Four more able or judicious officers could not have been desired.

"The remaining details of the siege; the able co-operation of the United States squadron, successively under the command of Commodores Conner and Perry; the admirable conduct of the whole army—regulars and volunteers—I should be happy to dwell upon as they deserve; but the steamer Princeton, with Commodore Conner on board, is under way, and I have commenced organizing an advance into the interior. This may be delayed a few days, waiting the arrival of additional means of transportation. In the mean time, a joint operation, by land and water, will be made upon Alvarado. No lateral expedition, however, shall interfere with the grand movement towards the capital."



THE city and castle of Vera Cruz surrendered on the following terms, which were rigidly adhered to:

"1. The whole garrison, or garrisons, to be surrendered to the arms of the United States, as prisoners of war, the 29th instant, at ten o'clock, A. M.; the garrisons to be permitted to march out with all the honours of war, and to lay down their arms to such officers as may be appointed by the general-in-chief of the United States armies, and at a point to be agreed upon by the commissioners.

"2. Mexican officers shall preserve their arms and private effects, including horses and horse-furniture, and to be allowed, regular and irregular officers, as also the rank and file, five days to retire to their respective homes, on parole, as hereinafter prescribed.

"3. Coincident with the surrender, as stipulated in article 1, the Mexican flags of the various forts and stations shall be struck, saluted by their own batteries; and immediately thereafter, Forts Santiago and Conception, and the castle of San Juan de Ulloa, occupied by the forces of the United States.

"4. The rank and file of the regular portion of the prisoners to be disposed of after surrender and parole, as their general-in-chief may desire, and the irregular to be permitted to return to their homes. The officers, in respect to all arms and descriptions of force, giving the usual parole, that the said rank and file, as well as themselves, shall not serve again until duly exchanged.

"5. All the *materiel* of war, and all public property of every description found in the city, the castle of San Juan de Ulloa and their dependencies, to belong to the United States; but the armament of the same, (not injured or destroyed in the further prosecution of the actual war,) may be considered as liable to be restored to Mexico by a definite treaty of peace.

"6. The sick and wounded Mexicans to be allowed to remain in the city with such medical officers and attendants, and officers of the army, as may be necessary to their care and treatment.

"7. Absolute protection is solemnly guarantied to persons in the city, and property, and it is clearly understood that no private building or property is to be taken or used by the forces of the United States, without previous arrangement with the owners, and for a fair equivalent.

"8. Absolute freedom of religious worship and ceremonies is solemnly guarantied."



Mexicans leaving Vera Cruz.



Commencement of the Guerilla Warfare.

CHAPTER VIII.

March to the Capital.

AFTER remaining more than two weeks with his army at Vera Cruz, General Scott commenced his advance, April 8th, for the capital. On the 11th, Twiggs's division reached the Plan del Rio, where, in a few days, it was joined by those of Quitman and Worth.

At this time Santa Anna was stationed at the strong mountain pass of Sierra Gòrdo, which he had fortified with the greatest precaution. Here he awaited the arrival of the Americans with

firmness, calculating, that the advantages of his position, and his superiority of force, would give him an easy victory over the army of General Scott. An actor in the battle of Sierra Gordo thus describes this position:

"The road from Vera Cruz, as it passes the Plan del Rio, which is a wide, rocky bed of a once large stream, is commanded by a series of high cliffs, rising one above the other, and extending several miles, and all well fortified. The road then debouches to the right, and, curving around the ridge, passes over a high cliff, which is completely enfiladed by forts and batteries. This ridge is the commencement of *Terra Templada*, the upper or mountainous country. The high and rocky ravine of the river protected the right flank of the position, and a series of most abrupt and apparently impassable mountains and ridges covered their left. Between these points, running a distance of two or three miles, a succession of strongly fortified forts bristled at every turn, and seemed to defy all bravery and skill. The Sierra Gordo commanded the road on a gentle declination, like a glacis, for nearly a mile—an approach in that direction was impossible. A front attack must have terminated in the almost entire annihilation of our army. But the enemy expected such an attack, confiding in the desperate valour of our men, and believing that it was impossible to turn their position to the right or left. General Scott, however, with the eye of a skilful general, perceived the trap set for him, and determined to avoid it. He, therefore, had a road cut to the right, so as to escape the front fire from the Sierra, and turn his position on the left flank. This movement was made known to the enemy by a deserter from our camp, and consequently a large increase of force under General Vega was sent to the forts on their left.

"General Scott, to cover his flank movements, on the 17th of April, ordered forward General Twiggs against the fort on the steep ascent, in front and a little to the left of the Sierra. Colonel Harney commanded this expedition, and, at the head of the rifles and some detachments of infantry and artillery, carried his position under a heavy fire of grape and musketry. Having secured this position in front and near the enemy's strongest fortification, and having by incredible labour elevated one of our



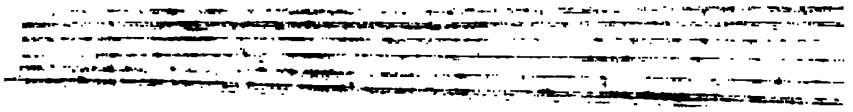
General Twiggs.

large guns to the top of the fort, General Scott prepared to follow up his advantages. A demonstration was made from this position against another strong fort in the rear, and near the Sierra, but the enemy was considered too strong, and the undertaking was abandoned. A like demonstration was made by the enemy."

Every thing being now ready for a general attack, Twiggs's division moved on the morning of the 18th, against the main fortress, Pillow's against that on the right, and Shields's and Worth's to the road in order to cut off all retreat. The troops composing the first, headed by Colonel Harney, pushed forward under a tremendous fire, and soon swept the works with the bayonet; but La Vega succeeded in repulsing General Pillow. He finally surrendered, however, on ascertaining that Santa Anna was defeated. The latter fled with precipitation, accompanied by Generals Almonte and Canalizo, and about half the army escaped by flight. He was so hotly pursued by Colonel Harney, as to leave behind his state carriage, trunks, and several thousand dollars in silver.



Jalapa.





Battle of Sierra Gordo.

IN this battle the Americans lost about two hundred and fifty in killed and wounded. General Shields was shot through the lungs by a musket ball, but, to the astonishment of all, survived. The loss of the Mexicans was about the same, exclusive of prisoners, who numbered three thousand. So great a quantity of stores, small arms, cannon, ammunition, &c., were taken, that General Scott, in his despatch to government, stated that he was embarrassed with the results of victory. The force of the enemy in this battle numbered eleven thousand; that of the Americans, six thousand.

The several divisions of the army rapidly pursued their success. On the 19th Twiggs entered Jalapa without opposition. On the 22d General Worth took undisputed possession of the town and castle of Perote, one of the strongest in Mexico. Tuspan, on the sea coast, had been previously taken (18th) by a portion of the gulf squadron, under Commodore Perry. Worth remained near Jalapa until the 15th of May, when he captured the city of Puebla. A description of this great achievement is given by one of his officers.

"General Worth's command, four thousand strong, entered



Capture of Tuspan.

and took possession of this city of palaces, with its eighty thousand population, on the 15th. Our guns gape on the city, and on its lazaroni, from every quarter. At Amazogue, twelve miles in the rear, Santa Anna came out to meet us with a column of about three thousand five hundred, supposing as was the fact, that one of General Worth's brigades (Quitman's) was in the rear. We gave him the usual reception, *a la Rough and Ready*. We could only get Santa Anna near enough to give play to our light batteries, and only keep him in range long enough to unsaddle ninety cavalry. Santa Anna never fired a shot, and of course there was no loss on our side. We followed as close on his heels as tired foot could after Mexican horses well frightened, and entered Puebla at ten o'clock in the morning, while Santa Anna nad left at four o'clock, with a guard of three hundred or four hundred cavalry. Could General Worth have reached him, General Santa Anna and his force would have been destroyed."

The army remained at Puebla until August, when General Scott began his famous march for the city of Mexico. The troops passed the Rio Frio without opposition, and on the 10th reached Ayotla. Here a careful reconnoissance was made of the position

El Penon, a fortification strongly defended by both nature and art. It had also been garrisoned with so much care, that General Scott determined to avoid it by marching round Lake Chalco, over a road discovered by General Worth. On the evening of the 17th, Worth's division arrived near San Antonio, after a most toilsome march over a rugged, broken road. On the following day Captain Thornton was killed while reconnoitering the Mexican position. The troops lay on their arms all night, and on the following day, at one o'clock P. M., Generals Smith and Twiggs attacked Contreras. This strong fortress was carried before daylight of the 20th. An officer thus describes the taking of Churubusco.

"Meanwhile General Worth had made a demonstration on San Antonio, where the enemy was fortified in a strong hacienda; but they retired, on his approach, to Churubusco, where the works were deemed impregnable. They consisted of a fortified hacienda, which was surrounded by a high and thick wall on all sides. Inside the wall was a stone building, the roof of which was flat and higher than the walls. Above all this was a stone church, still higher than the rest, and having a large steeple. The wall was pierced with loopholes, and so arranged that there were two tiers of men firing at the same time. They thus had four different ranges of men firing at once, and four ranks were formed on each range and placed at such a height that they could not only overlook all the surrounding country, but at the same time they had a plunging fire upon us. Outside the hacienda, and completely commanding the avenues of approach, was a field-work extending around two sides of the work and protected by a deep, wet ditch, and armed with seven large pieces. This hacienda is at the commencement of the causeway leading to the western gate of the city, and had to be passed before getting on the road. About three hundred yards in the rear of this work, another field-work had been built where a cross road meets the causeway, at a point where it crosses a river, thus forming a bridge head, or *tete de pont*. This was also very strong and armed with three very large pieces of cannon. The works were surrounded on every side by large corn-fields, which were filled with the enemy's skirmishers, so that it was difficult to make a reconnois-



Battle of Churubusco.

sance. It was therefore decided to make the attack immediately, as they were full of men and extended for nearly a mile on the road to the city, completely covering the causeway. The attack commenced about one P. M. General Twiggs's division attacked on the side towards which they approached the fort, *i. e.*, opposite the city. General Worth's attacked the bridge head which he took in about an hour and a half; while Generals Pillow and Quitman were on the extreme left, between the causeway and Twiggs's division. The rifles were on the left, and in the rear of the work, intrusted by General Scott with the task of charging the work in case General Pierce gave way. The firing was most tremendous—in fact one continued roll while the combat lasted. The enemy, from their elevated position, could readily see our men, who were unable to get a clear view from their position. Three of the pieces were manned by "*The Deserters*," a body of about one hundred, whe had deserted from the ranks of our

army during the war. They were enrolled in two companies, commanded by a deserter, and were better uniformed and disciplined than the rest of the army. These men fought most desperately, and are said not only to have shot down several of our officers whom they knew, but to have pulled down the white flag of surrender no less than three times.



THE battle raged most furiously for about three hours, when both sides having lost a great many, the enemy began to give way. As soon as they commenced retreating, Kearny's squadron passed through the *tete de pont*, and charging through the retreating column, pursued them to the very gate of the city As they got within about five hundred yards of the gate, they were opened upon with grape and canister, and several officers wounded.

"The official returns give our loss in killed and wounded at eleven hundred and fifty, besides officers. The Mexican loss is five hundred killed in the second battle, one thousand wounded, and eleven hundred prisoners, exclusive of officers. Three more generals were taken, among them General Rincon, and Anaya, the provisional president; also ten pieces of cannon, and an immense amount of ammunition and stores, Santa Anna, in his report, states his loss in killed, wounded, and missing, at twelve thousand. He has only eighteen thousand left out of thirty thousand, which he gives as his force on the 20th, in both actions."

Mindful of the desire, so often expressed by President Polk, to conquer a peace, General Scott halted his victorious troops within sight of the capital, and offered terms of an armistice preparatory to the opening of negotiations for a peace. The offer was gladly accepted, and an armistice concluded on the following terms:

ART. 1. Hostilities shall instantly and absolutely cease between the armies of the United States of America and the United Mexican States within thirty leagues of the capital of the latter states

to allow time to the commissioners appointed by the United States and the commisioners to be appointed by the Mexican republic to negotiate.

2. The armistice shall continue as long as the commissioners of the two governments may be engaged on negotiations, or until the commander of either of the said armies shall give formal notice to the other of the cessation of the armistice for forty-eight hours after such notice.

3. In the mean time, neither army shall, within thirty leagues of the city of Mexico, commence any new fortification or military work of offence or defense, or do any thing to enlarge or strengthen any existing work or fortification of that character within the said limits.

4. Neither army shall be reinforced within the same. Any reinforcements in troops or munitions of war, other than subsistence now approaching either army, shall be stopped at the distance of twenty-eight leagues from the city of Mexico.

5. Neither army, or any detachment from it, shall advance beyond the line it at present occupies.

6. Neither army, nor any detachment, or individual of either, shall pass the neutral limits established by the last article, except under a flag of truce bearing the correspondence between the two armies, or on the business authorized by the next article; and individuals of either army, who may chance to straggle within the neutral limits, shall, by the opposite party, be kindly warned off, or sent back to their own armies under flags of truce.

7. The American army shall not, by violence, obstruct the passage from the open country into the city of Mexico, of the ordinary supplies of food necessary to the consumption of its inhabitants, or the Mexican army within the city; nor shall the Mexican authorities, civil or military, do any act to obstruct the passage of supplies from the city or country, needed by the American army.

8. All American prisoners of war remaining in the hands of the Mexican army, and not heretofore exchanged, shall immediately, or as soon as practicable, be restored to the American army, against a like number, having regard to rank, of Mexican prisoners captured by the American army.

9. All American citizens who were established in the city of Mexico prior to the existing war, and who have since been expelled from that city, shall be allowed to return to their respective business or families therein, without delay or molestation.

10. The better to enable the belligerent armies to execute these articles, and to favour the great object of peace, it is further agreed between the parties, that any courier with despatches that either army shall desire to send along the line from the city of Mexico or its vicinity, to and from Vera Cruz, shall receive a safe conduct from the commander of the opposing army.

11. The administration of justice between Mexicans, according to the general and state constitutions and laws, by the local authorities of the towns and places occupied by the American forces, shall not be obstructed in any manner.

12. Persons and property shall be respected in the towns and places occupied by the American forces. No person shall be molested in the exercise of his profession; nor shall the services of any one be required without his consent. In all cases where services are voluntarily rendered, a just price shall be paid, and trade remain unmolested.

13. Those wounded prisoners who may desire to remove to some more convenient place, for the purpose of being cured of their wounds, shall be allowed to do so without molestation, they still remaining prisoners.

14. The Mexican medical officers who may wish to attend the wounded, shall have the privilege of doing so, if their services be required.

15. For the more perfect execution of this agreement, two commissioners shall be appointed, one by each party, who, in case of disagreement, shall appoint a third.

16. This convention shall have no force or effect, unless approved by their excellencies, the commanders, respectively, of the two armies, within twenty-four hours, reckoning from the sixth hour of the 23d day of August, 1847.

During the cessation of hostilities, court-martials, appointed by General Scott, tried and sentenced Sergeant Riley, and seventy others, who had deserted at various times. Fifty were hung. The remainder, including the sergeant, having joined the Mexicans

prior to the declaration of war, were branded, publicly whipped, sentenced to solitary confinement, with a chain and ball while the army shall remain in Mexico, and afterwards to be drummed out of service. All these men were captured fighting desperately at Churubusco.

Overtures of peace were now made by Mr. Trist, the American plenipotentiary, who agreed that the United States should pay a certain sum for California, and retain Texas with the Rio Grande as the boundary. To the latter condition the Mexicans would not assent. On the 2d of September, Mr. Trist handed in his ultimatum on boundaries, and the negotiators adjourned to reassemble on the 6th.



Mexican Officer.



City of Mexico.

CHAPTER IX.

Capture of Mexico.

GENERAL SCOTT thus details the operations subsequent to the meeting of the commissioners:

"Some infractions of the truce, in respect to our supplies from the city, were earlier committed, followed by apologies, on the part of the enemy. Those vexations I was willing to put down to the imbecility of the government, and waived pointed demands of reparation while any hope remained of a satisfactory termination of the war. But on the 5th, and more fully on the 6th, I learned that as soon as the *ultimatum* had been considered in a grand council of ministers and others, President Santa Anna, on the 4th or 5th, without giving me the slightest notice, actively recommenced strengthening the military defenses of the city, in gross violation of the third article of the armistice.

"On that information, which has since received the fullest veri

fication, I addressed to him my note of the 6th. His reply, dated the same day, received the next morning, was absolutely and notoriously false, both in recrimination and explanation. I inclose copies of both papers, and have had no subsequent correspondence with the enemy. Being delayed by the terms of the armistice more than two weeks, we had now, late on the 7th, to begin to reconnoiter the different approaches to the city, within our reach, before I could lay down any definite plan of attack.

"The same afternoon a large body of the enemy was discovered hovering about the Molinos del Rey, within a mile and a third of this village, where I am quartered with the general staff and Worth's division.

"It might have been supposed that an attack upon us was intended; but knowing the great value to the enemy of those mills, (Molinos del Rey,) containing a cannon foundry, with a large deposit of powder in Casa Mata near them; and having heard, two days before, that many church bells had been sent out to be cast into guns, the enemy's movement was easily understood, and I resolved at once, to drive him early the next morning, to seize the powder, and to destroy the foundry.

"Another motive for this decision—leaving the general plan of attack upon the city for full reconnoissances—was, that we knew our recent captures had left the enemy not a fourth of the guns necessary to arm, all at the same time, the strong works at each of the eight city gates; and we could not cut the communication between the capital and the foundry without first taking the formidable castle on the heights of Chapultepec, which overlooked both and stood between."

The management of this important assault was intrusted to Major-General Worth. He describes his operations as follows:

"Having, in the course of the 7th, accompanied the general-in-chief, on a reconnoissance of the formidable dispositions of the enemy, near and around the castle of Chapultepec, they were found to exhibit an extended line of cavalry and infantry, sustained by a field-battery of four guns—occupying directly, or sustaining, a system of defenses collateral to the castle and summit. This examination gave fair observation of the configuration

of the grounds, and the extent of the enemy's force, but, as appeared in the sequel, an inadequate idea of the nature of his defenses—they being skilfully masked.



THE general-in-chief ordered that my division, reinforced, should attack and carry those lines and defenses, capture the enemy's artillery, destroy the machinery and material supposed to be in the foundry (El Molino del Rey); but limiting the operations to that extent. After which my command was to be immediately withdrawn to its position in the village of Tacubaya.

"A close and daring reconnoissance by Captain Mason, of the engineers, made on the morning of the 7th, represented the enemy's lines collateral to Chapultepec to be as follows: his left rested upon and occupied a group of strong stone buildings, called El Molino del Rey, adjoining the grove at the foot of the hill of Chapultepec, and directly under the guns of the castle which crowns its summit. The right of this line rested upon another stone building, called Casa Mata, situated at the foot of the ridge that slopes gradually from the heights above the village of Tacubaya to the plain below. Midway between these buildings was the enemy's field-battery, and his infantry forces were disposed on either side to support it. This reconnoissance was verified by Captain Mason and Colonel Duncan, on the afternoon of the same day. The result indicated that the centre was the weak point of the enemy's position, and that his flanks were the strong points, his left flank being the stronger.

"As the enemy's system of defense was connected with the hill and castle of Chapultepec, and as my operations were limited to a specific object, it became necessary to isolate the work to be accomplished from the castle of Chapultepec and its immediate defenses. To effect this object, the following dispositions were ordered: Colonel Garland's brigade to take position on the right, strengthened by two pieces of Captain Drum's battery, to look to El Molino del Rey as well as any support of this position from Chapultepec; and also within sustaining distance of the assaulting party and the battering guns, which, under Captain Huger,

were placed on the ridge, five or six hundred yards from El Molino del Rey, to batter and loosen this position from Chapultopec. An assaulting party of five hundred picked men and officers, under command of Brevet Major George Wright, 8th infantry was also posted on the ridge to the left of the battering guns to force the enemy's centre. The 2d (Clark's) brigade, the command of which devolved on Colonel McIntosh, Colonel Clark being sick, with Duncan's battery, was to take post still farther up the ridge, opposite the enemy's right, to look to our left flank, to sustain the assaulting column, if necessary, or to discomfit the enemy, the ground being favourable, as circumstances might require. Cadwalader's brigade was held in reserve, in a position on the ridge, between the battering guns and McIntosh's brigade, and in easy support of either. The cavalry, under Major Sumner, to envelope our extreme left, and be governed by circumstances—to repel or attack, as the commander's judgment might suggest. The troops to be put in position under cover of the night, and the work to begin as soon as the heavy material could be properly directed. Colonel Duncan was charged with the general disposition of the artillery.

"Accordingly, at three o'clock on the morning of the 8th, the several columns were put in motion, on as many different routes; and, when the gray of the morning enabled them to be seen, they were as accurately in position as if posted in midday for review. The early dawn was the moment appointed for the attack, which was announced to our troops by the opening of Huger's guns on El Molino del Rey, upon which they continued to play actively, until this point of the enemy's line became sensibly shaken, when the assaulting party, commanded by Wright, and guided by that accomplished officer, Captain Mason, of the engineers, assisted by Lieutenant Foster, dashed gallantly forward to the assault. Unshaken by the galling fire of musketry and canister that was showered upon them, on they rushed, driving infantry and artillerymen at the point of the bayonet. The enemy's field-battery was taken, and his own guns were trailed upon his retreating masses; before, however, they could be discharged, perceiving that he had been dispossessed of this strong position by comparatively a handful of men, he made a

desperate effort to regain it. Accordingly his retiring forces rallied and formed with this object. Aided by the infantry, which covered the house tops, (within reach of which the battery had been moved during the night,) the enemy's whole line opened upon the assaulting party a terrific fire of musketry, which struck down *eleven* out of the *fourteen* officers that composed the command, and non-commissioned officers and men in proportion; including, amongst the officers, Brevet Major Wright, the commander; Captain Mason and Lieutenant Foster, engineers: all severely wounded.

"This severe shock staggered, for a moment, that gallant band. The light battalion, held to cover Huger's battery, under Captain E. Kirby Smith, (Lieutenant-Colonel Smith being sick,) and the right wing of Cadwalader's brigade, were promptly ordered forward to support, which order was executed in the most gallant style; the enemy was again routed, and this point of his line carried, and fully possessed by our troops. In the mean time, Garland's, (1st) brigade, ably sustained by Captain Drum's artillery, assaulted the enemy's left, and, after an obstinate and very severe contest, drove him from this apparently impregnable position, immediately under the guns of the castle of Chapultepec. Drum's section, and the battering guns under Captain Huger, advanced to the enemy's position, and the captured guns of the enemy were now opened on his retreating forces, on which they continued to fire until beyond their reach.

"While this work was in progress of accomplishment, by our centre and right, our troops on the left were not idle. Duncan's battery opened on the right of the enemy's line, up to this time engaged; and the 2d brigade, under Colonel McIntosh, was now ordered to assault the extreme right of the enemy's line. The direction of this brigade soon caused it to mask Duncan's battery —the fire of which, for the moment was discontinued—and the brigade moved steadily on to the assault of Casa Mata, which, instead of an ordinary field intrenchment, as was supposed, proved to be a strong stone citadel, surrounded with bastioned intrenchments and impassable ditches—an old Spanish work, recently repaired and enlarged. When within easy musket range, the enemy opened a most deadly fire upon our advancing

troops, which was kept up, without intermission, until our gallant men reached the very slope of the parapet of the work that surrounded the citadel. By this time a large proportion of the command was either killed or wounded, amongst whom were the three senior officers present—Brevet Colonel McIntosh, Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, of the 5th infantry, and Major Waite, 8th infantry; the second killed, and the first and last desperately wounded. Still, the fire from the citadel was unabated. In this crisis of the attack, the command was, momentarily, thrown into disorder, and fell back on the left of Duncan's battery, where they rallied.



S the 2d brigade moved to the assault, a very large cavalry and infantry force was discovered approaching rapidly upon our left flank, to reinforce the enemy's right. As soon as Duncan's battery was masked, as before mentioned, supported by Andrew's voltigeurs, of Cadwalader's brigade, it moved promptly to the extreme left of our line, to check the threatened assault on this point. The enemy's cavalry came rapidly within canister range, when the whole battery opened a most effective fire, which soon broke the squadrons, and drove them back in disorder. During this fire upon the enemy's cavalry, Major Sumner's command moved to the front, and changed direction in admirable order, under a most appalling fire from the Casa Mata. This movement enabled his command to cross the ravine immediately on the left of Duncan's battery, where it remained, doing noble service until the close of the action. At the very moment the cavalry were driven beyond reach, our own troops drew back from before the Casa Mata, and enabled the guns of Duncan's battery to reopen upon this position; which, after a short and well-directed fire, the enemy abandoned. The guns of the battery were now turned upon his retreating columns, and continued to play upon them until beyond reach.

"He was now driven from every point of the field, and his strong lines, which had certainly been defended well, were in our possession. In fulfilment of the instructions of the com-



Tacubaya.

mander-in-chief, the Casa Mata was blown up, and such of the captured ammunition as was useless to us, as well as the cannon moulds found in El Molino del Rey, were destroyed. After which my command under the reiterated orders of the General-in-chief, returned to quarters at Tacubaya, with three of the enemy's four guns, (the fourth having been spiked, was rendered unserviceable;) as also a large quantity of small arms, with gun and musket ammunition, and exceeding eight hundred prisoners, including fifty-two commissioned officers.

"By concurrent testimony of prisoners the enemy's force exceeded fourteen thousand men commanded by General Santa Anna in person. His total loss, killed, including the second and third in command, (Generals Valdarez and Leon,) wounded and prisoners, amounts to three thousand, exclusive of some two thousand who deserted after the route.

"My command, reinforced as before stated, only reached three thousand one hundred men of all arms. The contest continued two hours, and its severity is painfully attested by our heavy loss of officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, including

in the first two classes some of the brightest ornaments of the service."

This victory prepared the way for more important ones. The time from the 8th to the 11th was spent in careful reconnoissances of the defenses around the capital. A description of these we give in General Scott's own words:

"This city (Mexico) stands on a slight swell of ground, near the centre of an irregular basin, and is girdled with a ditch in its greater extent—a navigable canal of great breadth and depth—very difficult to bridge in the presence of an enemy, and serving at once for drainage, custom-house purposes, and military defense; having eight entrances or gates over arches,—each of which we found defended by a system of strong works, that seemed to require nothing but some men and guns to be impregnable. Outside, and within the cross-fires of those gates, we found to the south other obstacles, little less formidable. All the approaches near the city are elevated causeways, cut in many places, (to oppose us,) and flanked on both sides by ditches, also of unusual dimensions. The numerous cross-roads are flanked in like manner, having bridges at the intersections, recently broken. The meadows thus checkered are, moreover, in many spots, under water, or marshy; for, it will be remembered, we were in the midst of the wet season, though with less rain than usual, and we could not wait for the fall of the neighbouring lakes, and the consequent drainage of the wet grounds at the edge of the city."



IN order to save the lives of his men, by avoiding these formidable obstacles, General Scott determined on a sudden and secret movement to the south-west, where the defenses were feeble. This was admirably executed, the enemy mistaking a feint for the real march, until it was too late to retrieve themselves.

The most important step in the new movement was the capture of Chapultepec, a natural and isolated mound, of great elevation, strongly fortified at its base. Besides a numerous garrison, there was stationed at this place the military college of the republic, containing a large number of sub-lieutenants and other students



Chapultepec.

The bombardment of this strong place was commenced on the morning of the 12th, and continued with great activity, under the direction of Captain Huger, throughout the day. It was renewed on the following day, and kept up until eight o'clock, when General Scott gave signal to the divisions of Pillow and Quitman for a general assault. This was promptly obeyed by both columns; while as the troops advanced, the batteries threw shot and shell over their heads into the castle. Pillow dislodged a number of sharp shooters from an open grove, and emerged from it in front of the works. Here he was severely wounded, and the command devolved on General Cadwalader. This officer found before him a broken acclivity, commanded by a strong redoubt, both to be surmounted before reaching the castle. His troops, however, pushed forward over rocks, chasms, and ruins, although exposed to full range of the enemy's fire. The redoubt yielded to resistless valour, and the enemy were so closely pursued as to be unable to fire a single mine without blowing up friend and foe. Then the ditch and wall of the main work were

reached; scaling-ladders planted, and hundreds rushed over among the garrison. The cannon ceased, and the dire clashing of bayonets told of mortal strife. This also ceased, and long, loud cheers announced that Chapultepec had fallen.



SIMULTANEOUSLY with the movement on the west, General Quitman had approached on the east, over a causeway, with cuts and batteries, defended by troops without and within. Deep ditches flanking the causeway, made it difficult to cross on either side, into the adjoining meadows, and these again were intersected by other ditches. By skilful manœuvering, the New York, South Carolina, and 2d Pennsylvania volunteers, with portions of Quitman's storming parties, crossed the meadows in front, under a heavy fire, and entered the outer inclosure of Chapultepec, in time to join in the final assault from the west.

In the commencement of this brilliant affair, General Worth had been stationed in rear of the castle, to act as circumstances might require. During the attack, one brigade had been withdrawn by Pillow, to assist his movements; and on observing a large party of the enemy outside the works, General Scott ordered him to turn Chapultepec with his division, proceeding cautiously by the road at its northern base, in order, if not met by very superior numbers, to threaten and attack the rear of that force. Worth promptly obeyed these directions, although having but one brigade. In turning a forest, he came up with the troops under Colonel Trousdale, and aided in taking a breastwork. Then passing Chapultepec, he attacked the right of the enemy's line, at the time of the general retreat consequent upon the capture of the castle. After this he entered the San Cosme road, and commenced a rapid pursuit of the flying enemy. At the same time Quitman was hurrying forward by the Belin aqueduct.

Deeming the continuance of this pursuit highly important, General Scott sent two brigades to assist Worth, and one for the

same purpose to Quitman. At a junction of the roads they found a formidable system of defenses, entirely abandoned. Into these Worth's troops entered, and commenced a street fight with the enemy, who were posted in gardens, at windows, and on house tops. Worth ordered forward the mountain howitzers of Cadwalader's brigade, preceded by skirmishers and pioneers, with bars and axes, to force doors and windows, and to burrow through walls. Soon the assailants were in an equality of position with the enemy, and by eight o'clock, P. M., had carried two batteries. This brought them in front of the San Cosme gate, the only remaining obstruction to the grand plaza fronting the cathedral and palace. Here, in obedience to instructions, Worth halted, posted guards and sentinels, and placed his troops under shelter for the night.

Meanwhile, Quitman, assisted by Generals Shields and Smith, had passed rapidly along the other road, carried a battery in the face of flank and direct fires, stormed the Belen gate at two o'clock, and entered the city. Here he halted, sheltered himself as well as practicable, and waited for further instructions.

AT four o'clock next morning, a deputation of the city council waited on General Scott, to report that the army and federal government had fled from the city about midnight, in consequence of which they demanded terms of capitulation. The general replied, that he would sign no capitulation, nor submit to any terms not self-imposed—such only as the honour of his army, the dignity of his country, and the spirit of the age demanded.

About daylight, Worth and Quitman were ordered to advance slowly and cautiously toward the heart of the city, and occupy its commanding points. The latter officer proceeded to the great square, planted guards, and hoisted the colours of the United States on the National Palace. At about eight o'clock, the general-in-chief, dressed in full uniform, accompanied by his staff, and escorted by bands of music, entered the city, at the head of his army. Before noon, a fire was opened upon the

Americans, from the corners of streets, windows, and roofs of houses, by some two thousand convicts, liberated the night before by the flying government. This cowardly war lasted more than twenty-four hours, notwithstanding all the exertions of the municipal authorities, and was not put down until the army had lost many men killed and wounded, including several officers. General Quitman was appointed military governor of the city, and Captain Naylor superintendent of the National Palace. The former returning soon after to the United States, was succeeded by General Smith.

General Scott thus sums up the great achievements of his army:

"This small force (eight thousand men) has beaten on the same occasions, in view of the capital, the whole Mexican army, of (at the beginning) thirty odd thousand men—posted always in chosen positions, behind intrenchments, or more formidable defenses of nature and art; killed or wounded of that number more than seven thousand officers and men; taken three thousand seven hundred and thirty prisoners, one-seventh officers, including thirteen generals, of whom three had been presidents of this republic; captured more than twenty colours and standards, seventy-five pieces of ordnance, besides fifty-seven wall pieces, twenty thousand small arms, an immense quantity of shot, shells, powder, &c."

General Scott's loss in the battles of August, was one thousand and fifty-two men, of whom seventy-six were officers; on the 8th of September, seven hundred and eighty-nine, of whom fifty-eight were officers; before the capital, eight hundred and sixty-two men, including seventy-eight officers; total, two thousand seven hundred and three, including three hundred and eighty-three officers.

Having thus obtained complete possession of Mexico, General Scott proclaimed martial law, and levied a contribution upon the inhabitants. Business was resumed, and the city again became quiet and cheerful. Two months after, a proclamation was issued, requesting the inhabitants of other cities to lay down arms, and declaring the determination of the commander to spread his army over the country, in order to enforce obedience.



Puebla de los Angelos.

During these operations before the capital, a revolt had taken place in Puebla, which forced the American governor, Colonel Childs, to take refuge in the fortresses of San Jose, Loreto, and Guadaloupe. Here he was shut up by the inhabitants, and a bombardment commenced on the 14th of September, which lasted twenty-eight days. The enemy cut off all supplies, and attempted to change the direction of a stream of water, running through San Jose. The Americans were fired upon from houses, streets, forts, and mounds; and frequently the bombardment continued through the entire night.

On the 22d, Santa Anna arrived with large reinforcements from Mexico, and on the 25th demanded a surrender. This was refused. A combined attack then commenced, and continued until the 2d of October, when a revolt of Santa Anna's troops obliged him to withdraw. Taking advantage of this, Colonel Childs detached two parties on a sortie. Captain Wm. F. Small, who conducted one of them, succeeded in destroying a barricade of one hundred and fifty cotton bales, and driving back the enemy with a loss of seventeen men. The besiegers, although con



[illegible] miles. Walker observed partie[illegible] direction, and accordi[illegible] pace toward Huamantla. A[illegible] lancers came over the neighl[illegible] Walker, and approached the town.

[illegible] main plaza. Captain Walker discov[illegible] enemy drawn up there, and in[illegible] charge. The Mexicans were defeated, [illegible] the arrival of their reinforcem[illegible] hours of an hour. the captain succe[illegible] artillery, but was not able to use t[illegible] the success. the gallant and chivalric W[illegible] Perhaps no officer, sacrificed in [illegible] was ever more sincerely lamented.

[illegible] Americans was thirteen killed, and el[illegible] the enemy more than one hundred. One [illegible] howitzer. with some wagons, a[illegible] ammunition were captured.

GENERAL LANE remained in Pu[illegible] until the 15th. when, ascertaining [illegible] General Rea. with a considerable M[illegible] can force. was at Atlisco, he order[illegible] movement for that place on the following m[illegible] The march was commenced about

enemy. They finally retreated [illegible]ged their revolvers and rifles, Night had now arrived, but a [illegible]iginal position. This order possible to continue operations [illegible]e of all the lancers. When General Lane, "to risk a street [illegible]rtillery opened upon the night, I ordered the artillery to be [illegible]uring mountains. Our town, and overlooking it, and opened [illegible] of the most beautiful sights conceivable. [illegible] arrived at Atlisco. with the utmost rapidity; and the crash of [illegible] Puebla, where we roofs of the houses, when struck by our [illegible]ock in the after- mingled with the roar of our artillery. The [illegible]th about one moon enabled us to direct our shots to the most [illegible] sent in pur- lated parts of the town."

This bombardment continued three-quarters of [illegible] near Teo- the general was waited on by the city council, who [illegible] lay down the town might be spared. This was granted, and [illegible]ldenly ing considerable military stores and arms, Lane left [illegible]ntest ing for Puebla. His loss was one killed, and one [illegible] und that of the enemy, two hundred and nineteen killed, and [illegible] the hundred wounded.

In the same month the towns of Guaymas and Mazatlan were taken by a portion of the American fleet. On the 15th the Portsmouth sloop of war anchored off the port of the former, and was joined soon after by the frigate Congress, and the brig Argus. The town was twice summoned to surrender, and on the 19th was abandoned by the Mexican army. At six o'clock next morning the Americans opened their fire from both vessels of war, and the two mortars, and continued it for more than an hour. They discharged into the town more than five hundred shot. One English resident was killed, some houses were burned, and others entirely destroyed. The town then submitted without further resistance. About the same time four ships of war took possession of the port of Mazatlan.

On the 23d of November General Lane had another battle with the enemy at Matamoras. We give the account nearly in his own words:

"Having been credibly informed that the enemy were in force, at Matamoras, with some artillery, and that a military depot was there established, at which a large quantity of munitions of war

[redacted] had been collected, and also that several [redacted] were confined there, in close imprisonment, I [redacted] toward that place at seven o'clock, on the [redacted] with one piece of artillery, and one [redacted] Although retarded by five hours rain, [redacted] at seven o'clock on the 23d—accomplishing [redacted] four miles in twelve hours. Coming upon [redacted] of the enemy, we charged and drove them in [redacted] In this short and sanguinary action from [redacted] of the enemy were killed and wounded. We did [redacted] Twenty-one American soldiers were set free, [redacted] to the service, armed with muskets and mounted [redacted] taken from the enemy. Three pieces of bronzed [redacted] two of shot, twelve boxes of fixed ammunition, [redacted] escopette and musket balls, seven bales slow [redacted] five hundred muskets, five hundred sabres, [redacted] horses, medical stores and other public property [redacted] hands. Of these the muskets, ammunition, artillery, [redacted] were distributed among the men; the remainder [redacted]

EARLY on the morning of the 24th, we moved toward Puebla. While moving with difficulty through a long mountainous pass (Pass de Galaxra) five miles from Matamoras, the train became considerably extended. The artillery and four wagons containing captured property, and driven by Mexicans, had fallen to the rear, and were slowly progressing under my immediate superintendence, when it was reported that the enemy had appeared in front. Colonel Hays was immediately ordered to repair to the head of the column, and to engage the enemy with the advance guard. He formed a small party of observation, supported by about two hundred lancers. These he charged, broke and pursued across an extended plain, and up a long precipitous ascent, toward the mountains from which they had made the attack. Here they were reinforced by a reserve of five hundred lancers, under General Rea. As Hays's men numbered but about thirty-five, and were not only destitute of

sabres, but had previously discharged their revolvers and rifles, he ordered them to retire to their original position. This order they coolly obeyed under the full charge of all the lancers. When the colonel reached the main body, the artillery opened upon the Mexicans, and they retired to the neighbouring mountains. Our loss was two killed and two wounded.

"At about ten o'clock A. M. of the 25th, we arrived at Atlisco. After four hours' repose we moved on to Puebla, where we arrived without further molestation, at two o'clock in the afternoon, having been absent sixty hours."

On the 12th of January, 1848, Colonel Hays with about one hundred rangers, and a few Illinois volunteers, was sent in pursuit of the Padre Jarauta. On arriving at a hacienda near Teotihuacan, the party halted, unsaddled their horses, and lay down in careless repose. While in this condition, they were suddenly attacked by the padre and a party of guerillas. A sharp contest ensued, which lasted several minutes. About one hundred and fifty shots were fired by the rangers, and one hundred by the Mexicans—the balls of the latter passing over their opponents' heads, without producing any effect. Eight Mexicans were killed, and the remainder fled in all directions. Jarauta received several wounds, and was observed to reel in his saddle as though ready to fall. The Americans escaped without injury.

After this skirmish, little of interest transpired in either army until the latter end of January, when General Scott, in company with Mr. Trist, opened negotiations of peace with the Mexican commissioners, Luis G. Cuevas, Bernardo Conto, and Miguel Atristain, assuming as a basis the articles formerly proposed by Mr. Trist, and rejected by Santa Anna. The most important of these were the cession of a large portion of California and all of New Mexico to the United States, for a stipulated sum; the adoption of the Rio Grande as far as the Gila, for a boundary between the two countries; the surrender of all posts, cities, fortresses, etc., captured during the war; and the full ratification of the treaty of April 5th, 1831. The new treaty also provides that twelve thousand American troops should remain in the city of Mexico, until certain obligations are complied with. The remainder of the army are to be withdrawn.

As commander-in-chief of the American army, General Scott accepted this treaty from the Mexican congress, and forwarded it immediately to Washington. It arrived in that city on the 20th of February, and was laid before the President, who, on the 22d, submitted it to the Senate, accompanied by a message. Considering the importance of the measure, it passed through that body with unexampled rapidity, being adopted with but slight alterations on the 10th of March — the Senate being out of session part of the time, in consequence of the death of ex-president Adams. The vote stood thirty-seven to fifteen, four members being absent. This decided majority evinces the weariness with which all parties had begun to regard the war, and the earnest desire for a speedy and honourable peace.

By an article in this treaty, it was made obligatory upon the American government to withdraw its troops from the Mexican territory, within three months after the final ratification, unless prevented by the approach of the sickly season. Accordingly, the first care of the officers was, the organization of military parties to collect the military stores, and transmit them, under strong escorts, to Vera Cruz, the point of embarkation for the United States. These were followed by the army in detachments, led by officers appointed for the occasion. The whole was superintended by Major-General Butler, acting commander-in-chief, assisted by the American commissioner and generals, then in Mexico. Every facility was afforded by the Mexican authorities, and by the inhabitants generally. By the end of June the whole American force had been withdrawn, a service which, although of the most arduous kind, was admirably performed by both officers and men, without any material accident.

THE END.

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